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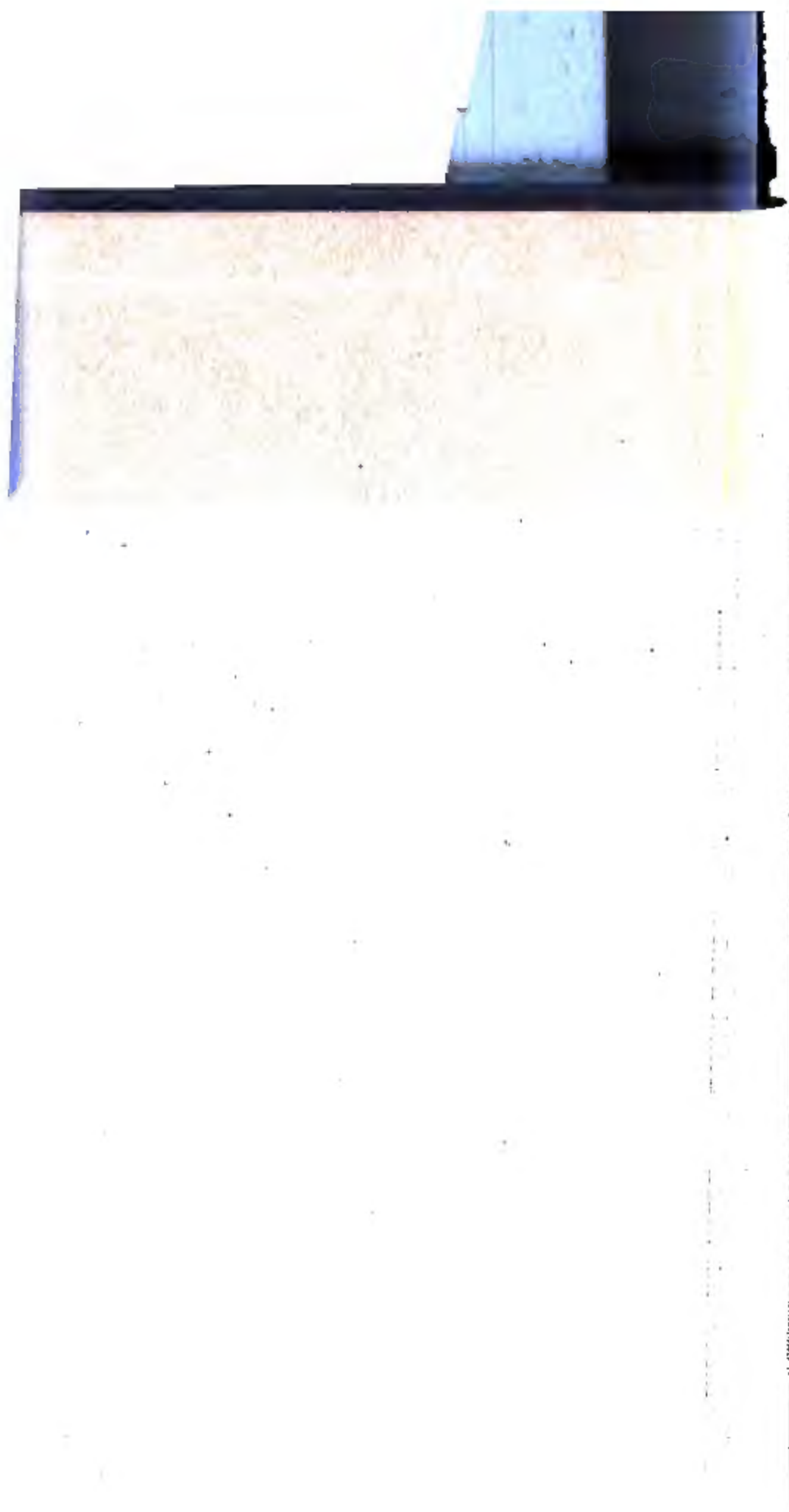
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ILLUSTRATIONS
OF
THE LITURGY AND RITUAL

OF
The United Church of England and
Ireland:

BEING
SERMONS AND DISCOURSES,
SELECTED FROM
THE WORKS OF EMINENT DIVINES
WHO LIVED DURING THE
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

BY JAMES BROGDEN, M.A.

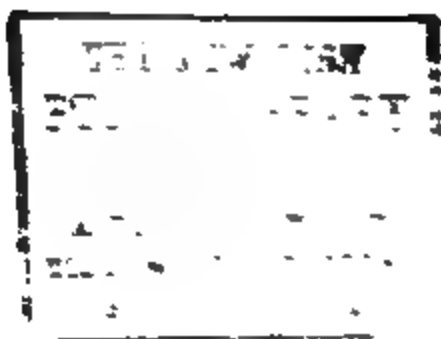
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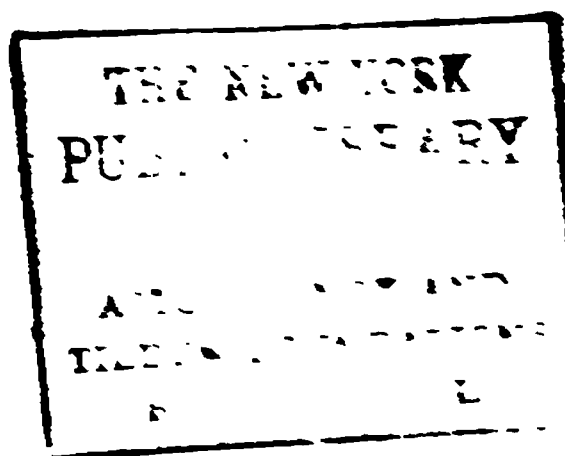
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ON CONFIRMATION.

[RICHARD HOOKER.]

THE ancient custom of the Church was, after they had baptized, to add thereunto imposition of hands, with effectual prayer for the illumination of God's most Holy Spirit^a, to confirm and perfect that which the grace of the same Spirit had already begun in baptism.

For our means to obtain the graces which God doth bestow are our prayers. Our prayers to that intent are available as well for others as for ourselves. To pray for others is to bless them for whom we pray, because prayer procureth the blessing of God upon them, especially the prayer of such as God either most respecteth for their piety and zeal that way, or else regardeth, for that their place and calling bindeth them above others unto this duty, as it doth both natural and spiritual fathers.

With prayers of spiritual and personal benediction the manner hath been, in all ages, to use imposition of hands, as a ceremony betokening our restrained desires to the party, whom we present unto God by prayer. Thus, when Israel blessed Ephraim and Manasses, Joseph's sons, he imposed upon them his hands and prayed, "God, in whose sight my fathers Abraham

^a Tertull. de Resur. Car. "Caro manus impositione adumbratur, ut et anima Spiritu illuminetur."

and Isaac did walk; God, which hath fed me all my life long unto this day, and the Angel which hath delivered me from evil, bless these children.”^a The prophets, which healed diseases by prayer, used therein the self-same ceremony. And therefore, when Eliseus willed Naaman to wash himself seven times in Jordan for cure of his foul disease, it much offended him: “I thought,” saith he, “with myself, surely the man will come forth and stand, and call upon the name of the Lord his God, and put his hand on the place, to the end he may so heal the leprosy.”^b In consecrations and ordinations of men unto rooms of divine calling, the like was usually done from the time of Moses to Christ.^c Their suits, that came unto Christ for help, were also tendered, oftentimes, and are expressed in such forms or phrases of speech as show that he was himself an observer of the same custom.^d He which, with imposition of hands and prayer, did so great works of mercy for restoration of bodily health, was worthily judged as able to effect the infusion of heavenly grace into them whose age was not yet depraved with that malice which might be supposed a bar to the goodness of God towards them. “They brought him, therefore, young children, to put his hands upon them^e,” and pray.

After the ascension of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that which he had begun continued in the daily practice of his Apostles, whose prayer and imposition of hands were a mean whereby thousands became partakers of the wonderful gifts of God. The Church had received from Christ a promise that such as

^a Gen. xlviii. 14.

^b 2 Kings, v. 11.

^c Num. xxvii. 18.

^d Mat. ix. 18. Mark, v. 23; viii. 22.

^e Mat. xix. 13. Mark, x. 13. Luke, xviii. 15.

believed in him, these signs and tokens should follow them: "to cast out devils, to speak with tongues, to drive away serpents, to be free from the harm which any deadly poison could work, and to cure diseases by imposition of hands^a:" which power, common at the first in a manner unto all believers, all believers had not power to derive or communicate unto all other men, but whosoever was the instrument of God to instruct, convert, and baptize them, the gift of miraculous operations by the power of the Holy Ghost, they had not, but only at the Apostles' own hands.^b For which cause Simon Magus, perceiving that power to be none but them, and presuming that they which had it might sell it, sought to purchase it of them with money.^c

And as miraculous graces of the Spirit continued after the Apostles' times^d ("for," saith Irenæus, "they which are truly his disciples do in his name, and through the grace received from him, such works for the benefit of other men as every of them is by him enabled to work; some cast out devils, insomuch as they which are delivered from wicked spirits have been thereby won unto Christ, and do constantly persevere in the Church as a society of faithful men; some excel in the knowledge of things to come, in the grace of visions from God, and the gift of prophetic prediction; some by laying on their hands restore them to health which are grievously afflicted with sickness; yea, there are that the dead have been made alive, and have afterwards m

^a Mark, xvi. 17.^c Acts, viii. 17, 18.^b Acts, xix. 6.^d Iren. lib. ii. cap. 32.

years conversed with us. What should I say? The gifts are innumerable wherewith God hath enriched his Church throughout the world, and by virtue whereof, in the name of Christ, crucified under Pontius Pilate, the Church every day doth many wonders for the good of nations, neither fraudulently nor in any respect of lucre and gain to herself, but as freely bestowing as God on her hath bestowed his divine graces"); so it no where appeareth that ever any did, by prayer and imposition of hands, since the Apostles' times, make others partakers of the like miraculous gifts and graces, as long as it pleased God to continue the same in his Church, but only bishops, the Apostles' successors, for a time even in that power. St. Augustine acknowledgeth that such gifts were not permitted to last always, lest men should wax cold with the commonness of that, the strangeness whereof at the first inflamed them^a; which words of St. Augustine, declaring how the vulgar use of those miracles was then expired, are no prejudice to the like extraordinary graces more rarely observed in some either then or of later days.

4. Now, whereas the successors of the Apostles had but only for a time such power as by prayer and imposition of hands to bestow the Holy Ghost; the reason wherefore confirmation, nevertheless, by prayer and laying on of hands, hath hitherto always continued, is for other very special benefits which the Church thereby enjoyeth. The fathers every where impute unto it that gift or grace of the Holy Ghost, not which maketh us first Christian men, but, when we are made such, assist-

What should I say? I know with God hath enriched the world, and by virtue whereof, I was ed under Pontius Pilate, in any wonders for the good, nor in any respect of his freely bestowing as God doth the graces"); so it no wonder, by prayer and imposition of hands, make others partakers of his gifts and graces, as he is the same in his Church's successors, for as Augustine acknowledgeth that the sacrament is to last always, lest the commonness of that, which first inflamed them^a; which declaring how the vulgar have expired, are no prejudice to us more rarely observed in days.

Successors of the Apostles have power as by prayer and imposition of the Holy Ghost; the reason is nevertheless, by prayer and imposition, which the Church thereby where impute unto it the merit, not which maketh us to be made such, assisted against temptation and
Relig. cap. 25.

sin. For, after baptism administered, "there cometh," saith Tertullian, "imposition of hands, invocation and invitation of the Holy Ghost, willingly cometh down from the Father to rest upon the purified and blessed bodies, as it were acknowledging the waters of baptism a fit seat."^a St. Cyprian in more particular manner alluding to that effect of the Spirit which here especially was respected, "great," saith he, "is that power and force which the mind is here (he meaneth in baptism) experiencing being not only withdrawn from that pernicious world which the world before had of it, not only so purified and made clean that no stain or blemish of the old invasion doth remain, but over and besides (which is effected through prayer and imposition of hands) being yet greater, yet mightier in strength, so far as it is clothed with a kind of imperial dominion over the whole world of that roaming and spoiling adversary."^b As is signified by Eusebius Emisenus, saying, "The Holy Ghost, which descendeth with saving influence upon the waters of baptism, doth there give that fulness which sufficeth for innocency, and afterwards exhibiteth confirmation an augmentation of further grace." The Fathers, therefore, being thus persuaded, held confirmation as^c an ordinance apostolic always profitable to God's Church, although not always accompanied with the equal largeness of those external effects which were countenance at the first.

The cause of severing confirmation from

^a Tertull. de Baptis.

^b Cypr. Epist. 2. ad Donat.

^c Euseb. Emis. Ser. de Pentec.

^d Aug. de Trin. lib. xv, cap. 26.

^e Heb. vi. 2.

(for most commonly they went together) was sometimes in the minister, which, being of inferior degree, might baptize, but not confirm, as in their case it came to pass whom Peter and John did confirm, whereas Philip had before baptized them^a; and in theirs of whom St. Jerome hath said^b, “I deny not but the custom of the churches is that the bishop should go abroad, and, imposing his hands, pray for the gift of the Holy Ghost on them whom presbyters and deacons far off in lesser cities have already baptized.” Which ancient custom of the Church St. Cyprian groundeth upon the example of Peter and John in the eighth of the Acts before alleged.^c “The faithful in Samaria,” saith he, “had already obtained baptism: only that which was wanting Peter and John supplied, by prayer and imposition of hands, to the end the Holy Ghost might be poured upon them. Which also is done amongst ourselves, when they which be already baptized are brought to the prelates of the Church to obtain by our prayer and imposition of hands the Holy Ghost.” By this it appeareth that when the ministers of baptism were persons of inferior degree, the bishops did after confirm whom such had before baptized.

Sometimes they which by force of their ecclesiastical calling might do as well the one as the other, were, notwithstanding, men whom heresy had disjoined from the fellowship of true believers. Whereupon, when any man by them baptized and confirmed came afterwards to see and renounce their error, there grew in some churches very hot contention about the manner of

nt together) was something of inferior degree, in their case it came to confirm, whereas Philip in theirs of whom St. not but the custom of should go abroad, and the gift of the Holy Ghost deacons far off in land.

Which ancient custom boundeth upon the example of the Acts being in Samaria," saith he, "that which was wanted by prayer and imposition of the Ghost might be powerfully done amongst ourselves baptized are brought to obtain by our prayer the Ghost." By this it appears of baptism were performed did after confirm what

force of their ecclesiastical one as the other, were heresy had disjoined from them. Whereupon, when confirmed came after their error, there grew in on about the manner of on. advers. Lucif. cap. 4.

admitting such into the bosom of the true Church hath been declared already in the question of rebaptism. But the general received custom was only to admit them with imposition of hands and prayer. which custom, while some imagined the reason to be for that heretics might give remission of sins by baptism, but not the Spirit by imposition of hands, because themselves had not God's Spirit, and that therefore their baptism might stand, but confirmation must be given again: the imbecility of this ground gave occasion to oppose himself against the practice of the Church herein, labouring many ways to prove that heretics could do neither; and, consequently, that baptism in all respects was as frustrate as their church for the manner of those times was, in confirming, and anointing. On the other side, against Lucifer, which ratified only the baptism of heretics, but annulled their confirmations and consecrations, under pretence of the reason which hath been before specified, "heretics cannot give the Holy Ghost;" St. Jerome proveth at large, that if baptism by heretics be given available to remission of sins, which no man receives without the Spirit, it must needs follow that the Church taken from disability of bestowing the Holy Ghost, hath no reason wherefore the Church should admit communion with any new imposition of hands. Notwithstanding because it might be objected, that if the gift of the Holy Ghost do always join itself with true baptism in the Church, which thinketh the bishop's confirmation of other men's baptism needful for the obtaining of the Holy Ghost, should hold an error, St. Jerome holds

maketh answer, that the cause of this observation is not any absolute impossibility of receiving the Holy Ghost by the sacrament of baptism, unless a bishop add after it the imposition of hands, but rather a certain congruity and fitness to honour prelacy with such pre-eminences, because the safety of the Church dependeth upon the dignity of her chief superiors, to whom if some eminent offices of power above others should not be given, there would be in the Church as many schisms as priests. By which answer, it appeareth his opinion was, that the Holy Ghost is received in baptism; that confirmation is only a sacramental complement; that the reason why bishops alone did ordinarily confirm, was not because the benefit, grace, and dignity thereof is greater than of baptism; but rather, for that by the sacrament of baptism men being admitted into God's Church, it was both reasonable and convenient that if he baptize them not, unto whom the chiefest authority and charge of their souls belongeth, yet for honour's sake, and in token of his spiritual superiority over them; because to bless is an act of authority^a, the performance of this annexed ceremony should be sought for at his hands. Now, what effect their imposition of hands hath either after baptism administered by heretics or otherwise, St. Jerome in that place hath made no mention, because all men understood that in converts it tendeth to the fruits of repentance, and craveth in behalf of the penitent such grace as David after his fall desired at the hands of God^b; in others the fruit and benefit thereof is that which hath been before showed.

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tion from baptism was in the parties that received
tism being infants; at which age they might be
well admitted to live in the family; but because t
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patriarchs, prophets, priests, apostles, fat
of God have had for such their particu
and benedictions; as no man, I suppose, f
of religion, will easily think to have
fruit.

No; there is no cause we should
benefit, but surely great cause to make

of men that all things done by apostolic example must needs be sacraments.

The second high point of danger is, that by "tying confirmation to the bishop alone, there is great cause of suspicion given to think that baptism is not so precious a thing as confirmation:" for will any man think that a velvet coat is of more price than a linen coif, knowing the one to be an ordinary garment, the other an ornament which only serjeants at law do wear?

Finally, to draw to an end of perils, the last and the weightiest hazard is where the book itself doth say that children by imposition of hands and prayer may receive strength against all temptation: which speech as a two-edged sword doth both ways dangerously wound; partly because it ascribeth grace to imposition of hands, whereby we are able no more to assure ourselves in the warrant of any promise from God that his heavenly grace shall be given, than the Apostle was that himself should obtain grace by the bowing of his knees to God^a; and partly because by using the very word strength in this matter, a word so apt to spread infection, we "maintain," with "popish" evangelists, an old forlorn "distinction," of the Holy Ghost bestowed upon Christ's Apostles before his ascension into heaven^b, and "augmented" upon them afterwards^c, a distinction of grace infused into Christian men by degrees, planted in them at the first by baptism, after cherished, watered, and (be it spoken without offence) strengthened, as by other virtuous offices which piety and true religion teacheth, even so by this very special benediction whereof we speak, the rite or ceremony of confirmation

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Acts, i. 8.

THE RIGHTEOUSNESS EVANGELICAL DESCR.

[BISHOP TAYLOR.]

MATT. v. 20.

For I say unto you, that except your righteousness be greater than the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven.

REWARDS and punishments are the best laws; and although the guardians of laws sometimes with the softest part of the hand in executions of sad sentences, yet in the sanction no abatements, but so proportion the duty to and the punishment to the crime, that by it best tell what value the lawgiver puts upon obedience. Joshua put a great rate upon the Kiriath-Sepher, when the reward of the son of a daughter and a dower; but when the youths were tured to fetch David the waters of Bethlehem, nothing but the praise of their boldness in service was no more than the satisfaction. But as lawgivers by their rewards declare the obedience, so do subjects also by what they expect, set a value on the lawgiver, and do their services accordingly.

And therefore the law of Moses, whose endearment was nothing but temporal goods and transient evils, could never make the comers thereunto perfect^a: but the *ἡπεισγωγή κρείττονος ἐλπίδος*, “the superinduction of a better hope,” hath endeared a more perfect obedience. When Christ “brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel,” and hath promised to us things greater than all our explicit desires, bigger than the thoughts of our heart, then *ἡγγίζομεν τῷ Θεῷ*, saith the Apostle, “then we draw near to God;” and by these we are enabled to do all that God requires, and then he requires all that we can do: more love and more obedience, than he did of those who, for want of these helps, and these revelations, and these promises, which we have, but they had not, were but imperfect persons, and could do but little more than human services. Christ hath taught us more, and given us more, and promised to us more, than ever was in the world known or believed before him; and by the strengths and confidence of these, thrusts us forward in a holy and wise economy, and plainly declares that we must serve him by the measures of a new love, do him honour by wise and material glorifications, be united to God by a new nature, and made alive by a new birth, and fulfil all righteousness; to be humble and meek as Christ, to be merciful as our heavenly Father is, to be pure as God is pure, to be partakers of the divine nature, to be wholly renewed in the frame and temper of our mind, to become people of a new heart, a direct new creation, new principles, and a new being, to do better than all the world

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before us ever did; to love God more perfectly, to despise the world more generously, to contend for the faith more earnestly: for all this is but a proper and a just consequent of the great promises which our blessed Lawgiver came to publish and effect for all the world of believers and disciples.

The matter which is here required is certainly very great; for it is to be more righteous than the Scribe and Pharisees; more holy than the doctors of the law than the leaders of the synagogue, than the wise prince of the Sanhedrim; more righteous than some that were prophets and high-priests, than some that kept the ordinances of the Law without blame; men that lay in sackcloth, and fasted much, and prayed more, and made religion and the study of the Law the work of their life. This was very much; but Christians must do more

"Nunc te marmoreum pro tempore fecimus; at tu,
Si futura gregem suppleverit, aureus esto."

They did well, and we must do better; their houses were marble, but our roofs must be gilded and of glory. But as the matter is very great, so the necessity of it is the greatest in the world. It is so, or it will be much worse: unless it be thus, we never see the glorious face of God. Here it calls us to be wise and fearful; for the matter is not a question of an oaken garland, or a circle of bays, or a low ribband: it is not a question of money or of the vainer rewards of popular noises, and discerning suffrages of the people, who are common judges of good and evil; but it is the great st

by the new measures : the righteousness of the kingdom is now the only way to enter into it ; for the sentence is fixed, and the judgment is decretory, and the Judge infallible, and the decree irreversible : “ For I say unto you,” said Christ, “ unless your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven.”

Here, then, we have two things to consider. 1. What was the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees. 2. How far that is to be exceeded by the righteousness of Christians.

1. Concerning the first. I will not be so nice in the observation of these words, as to take notice that Christ does not name the Sadducees, but the Scribes and Pharisees ; though there may be something in it. The Sadducees were called *Caraim*, from *cara*, to read ; for they thought it religion to spend one third part of their day in reading their scriptures, whose fulness they so admired, they would admit of no suppletory traditions : but the Pharisees were called *Thanaim*, that is, *δευτε-
ράται*, they added to the word of God words of their own, as the Church of Rome does at this day : they and these fell into an equal fate ; while they “ taught for doctrines the commandments of men,” they prevaricated the righteousness of God. What the Church of Rome to evil purposes hath done in this particular may be demonstrated in due time and place ; but what false and corrupt glosses, under the specious title of the tradition of their fathers, the Pharisees had introduced, our blessed Saviour reprove, and are now to be represented

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1. The Pharisees obeyed the commandments in
letter, not in the spirit: they minded what God sp
but not what he intended: they were busy in the
ward work of the hand, but incurious of the affect
and choice of the heart. *Ἰμῶς πάντα σαρκικῶς νο*
κατε, said Justin Martyr to Tryphon the Jew, "I
understand all things carnally;" that is, they re
ἐν πλάσματι εὐσεβείας, as Nazianzen calls it, in the
ward work of piety, which not only Justin Martyr
St. Paul calls carnality*, not meaning a carnal app
but a carnal service. Their error was plainly this:
never distinguished duties natural from duties rela
that is, whether it were commanded for itself, or
order to something that was better; whether it w
principal grace, or an instrumental action: so God
served in the letter, they did not much inquire into
purpose: and therefore they were curious to wash
hands, but cared not to purify their hearts; they w
give alms, but hate him that received it; they w
go to the Temple, but did not revere the glory of
that dwelt there between the cherubims; they w
fast, but not mortify their lusts; they would say
prayers, but not labour for the grace they prayed
This was just as if a man should run on his ma
errand, and do no business when he came there.
might easily have thought that by the soul only a
approaches to God, and draws the body after it
that no washing or corporal services could unite

* Gal. iii. 3. Gal. vi. 12. 13. Phil. iii. 34.

and the Shechina together: no such thing could make them like to God, who is the Prince of Spirits. They did as the dunces in Pythagoras's school, who, when their master had said, *Fabia abstineto*, by which he intended "they should not ambitiously seek for magistracy," they thought themselves good Pythagoreans if they "did not eat beans:" and they would be sure to put their right foot first into the shoe, and their left foot into the water, and supposed they had done enough; though if they had not been fools they would have understood their master's meaning to have been that they should put more affections to labour and travel, and less to their pleasure and recreation. And so it was with the Pharisee: for as the Chaldees taught their morality by mystic words, and the Egyptians by hieroglyphics, and the Greeks by fables; so did God, by rites and ceremonies external, leading them by the hand to the purities of the heart, and by the services of the body to the obedience of the spirit; which because they would not understand, they thought they had done enough in the observation of the letter.

2. In moral duties, where God expressed himself more plainly, they made no commentary of kindness; but regarded the prohibition so nakedly, and divested of all antecedents, consequents, similitudes, and proportions, that if they stood clear of that hated name which was set down in Moses' tables, they gave themselves liberty in many instances of the same kindred and alliance: if they abstained from murder, they thought it very well, though they made no scruple of

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throat, but they would call him fool, or invent lies in secret, and publish his disgrace openly; they would not dash out his brains, but they would be extremely and unreasonably angry with him; they would not steal their brother's money, but they would oppress him in crafty and cruel bargains. The commandment forbade them to commit adultery, but because fornication was not named, they made no scruple of that; and being commanded to honour their father and their mother, they would give them good words and fair observances; but because it was not named that they should maintain them in their need, they thought they did well enough to pretend "corban," and let their father starve.

3. The Scribes and Pharisees placed their righteousness in negatives: they would not commit what was forbidden, but they cared but little for the included positive, and the omissions of good actions did not much trouble them: they would not hurt their brother in a forbidden instance, but neither would they do him good according to the intention of the commandment: it was a great innocence if they did not rob the poor, then they were righteous men; but they thought themselves not much concerned to acquire that god-like excellency, a philanthropy and love to all mankind: whosoever blasphemed God was to be put to death; but he that did not glorify God as he ought, they were unconcerned for him, and let him alone: he that spake against Moses was to die without mercy; but against the ambitious and the covetous, against the proud man

“ Virtus est vitium fugere, et sapientia prima
Stultitiâ caruisse.”

They accounted themselves good, not for doing good, but for doing no evil: that was the sum of their theology.

4. They had one thing more as bad as all this: they broke Moses' tables into pieces, and, gathering up the fragments, took to themselves what part of duty they pleased, and let the rest alone: for it was a proverb among the Jews, *Qui operam dat præcepto, liber est à præcepto*; that is, if he chooses one positive commandment for his business, he may be less careful in any of the rest. Indeed, they said, also, *Qui multiplicat legem, multiplicat vitam*; he that multiplies the law increases life; that is, if he did attend to more good things, it was so much the better; but the other was well enough: but as for universal obedience, that was not the measure of their righteousness; for they taught that God would put our good works and bad into the balance, and according to the heavier scale give a portion in the world to come; so that some evil they would allow to themselves and their disciples, always provided it was less than the good they did. They would devour widows' houses, and make it up by long prayers; they would love their nation, and hate their prince; offer sacrifice, and curse Cæsar in their heart; advance Judaism, and destroy humanity.

Lastly, St. Austin summed up the difference between the pharisaical and evangelical righteousness in two words; *brevis differentia inter legem et evangelium*;

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[BP. TAYLOR]

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in the spirit of fear, and we worship the Father our Lord Jesus in the spirit of love, and by the Spirit of adoption. And as this slavish principle was the cause of all their former imperfections, finally and chiefly expressed itself in these particulars. 1. They would do all that they thought lawfully could do. 2. They would do nothing that was expressly commanded.

This was the righteousness of the Pharisees, and their disciples the Jews: because our blessed Saviour reproveth, not only the perfect then, but as criminal now, calling us to a new righteousness, the righteousness of the Gospel, the law of the spirit of life, to the kingdom of God. For the proper righteousness thereof, it concerns us, in this place, to look after the measures of this, ever remembering that it is infinitely necessary that we should know, and men do not generally know, or not consider it is to be a Christian; they understand that the Christian law forbiddeth or commandeth nothing for this in my text, it is indeed our great measure, it is not a question of good and better, but of life and death, salvation and damnation; our righteousness be weighed by new weights, and be found too light, when God comes to weigh the actions of all the world; and unless we be more righteous than they, we shall in no wise, that is, upon the terms in the world, enter into the kingdom of God.

Now, concerning this, we shall do very well, if we take our measures by the manners and

of the many who call themselves Christians ; for there are, as Nazianzen expresses it, the οἱ τότε καὶ νῦν φαρισαῖοι, the old and the new Pharisees. I wish it were no worse amongst us ; and that all Christians were indeed righteous as they were ; *est aliquid prodire tenus* ; it would not be just nothing. But I am sure that to bid defiance to the laws of Christ, to laugh at religion, to make a merriment at the debauchery and damnation of our brother, is a state of evil worse than that of the Scribes and Pharisees : and yet even among such men, how impatient would they be, and how unreasonable would they think you to be, if you should tell them, that there is no present hopes or possibility that in this state they are in they can be saved !

“ Omnes videmur nobis esse belluli
Et festivi, Saperdæ cum simus σαπροί.”

But the world is too full of Christians whose righteousness is very little, and their iniquities very great ; and now-a-days, a Christian is a man that comes to church on Sundays, and on the week following will do shameful things —

“ Passim corvos sequitur, testâque lutoque
Securus quo pes ferat, atque ex tempore vivit ;”—

being, according to the Jewish proverbial reproof, as so many Mephibosheths : *discipuli sapientum qui incessu pudefaciunt præceptorem suum* : their master teaches them to go uprightly ; but they still show their lame leg, and shame their master ; as if a man might be a Christian, and yet be the vilest person in the world, doing such things for which the laws of men have pro-

threatened the intolerable pains of an insufferable and never-ending damnation. Example here cannot be our rule unless men were much better; and as long as men live at the rate they do, it will be to little purpose to talk of exceeding the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees. But because it must be much better with us all, or it will be very much worse with us at the latter end, I shall leave complaining and go to the rule, and describe the necessary and unavoidable measures of the righteousness evangelical, without which we can never be saved.

1. Therefore, when it is said "our righteousness must exceed that of the Scribes and Pharisees," let us first take notice by way of precognition, that it must, at least, be so much: we must keep the letter of the whole moral law; we must do all that lies before us, all that is in our hand: and therefore *ὀργιάζεσθαι*, which signifies to be religious, the grammarians derive *ἀπὸ τοῦ χεῖρας ὀρέγεσθαι*, from reaching forth the hand: the outward work must be done; and it is not enough to say, "My heart is right, but my hand went aside." Prudentius saith, that St. Peter wept so bitterly, because he did not confess Christ openly, whom he loved secretly.

"Flevit negator denique
Ex ore prolapsus nefas,
Cum mens maneret innocens,
Animusque servârit fidem."

A right heart alone will not do it; or, rather, the heart is not right when the hand is wrong. "If a man strikes his neighbour, and says, Am not I in jest? It is folly and shame to him" said Solomon. For once for

all, let us remember this, that Christianity is the most profitable, the most useful, and the most bountiful institution in the whole world; and the best definition I can give of it is this: it is "the wisdom of God brought down among us to do good to men;" and therefore we must not do less than the Pharisees, who did the outward work; at least let us be sure to do all the work that is laid before us in the Commandments. And it is strange that this should be needful to be pressed amongst Christians, whose religion requires so very much more. But so it is: upon a pretence that we must serve God with the mind, some are such fools as to think that it is enough to have a good meaning. *Iniquum perpol verbum est, bene vult, nisi qui bene facit.* And because we must serve God in the spirit, therefore they will not serve God with their bodies; and because they are called upon to have the power and the life of godliness, they abominate all external works as mere forms; and because the true fast is to abstain from sin, therefore they will not abstain from meat and drink, even when they are commanded: which is just as if a Pharisee, being taught the circumcision of the heart, should refuse to circumcise his flesh; and as if a Christian, being instructed in the excellencies of spiritual communion, should wholly neglect the sacramental; that is, because the soul is the life of man, therefore it is fitting to die in a humour, and lay aside the body. This is a taking away the subject of the question; for our inquiry is, How we should keep the Commandments; how we are to do the work that lies before us; by what principles,

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 This therefore must be presupposed; we must
 care that even our bodies bear a part in our spiri
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 and our very bowels, must be servants of God, an
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This being ever supposed, our question is, How
 more we must do; and the first measure is this: v
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 the heart and the spirit of a man must be the pri
 actor. We must not give alms without a char
 soul, nor suffer martyrdom but in love and in obed
 and when we say our prayers, we do but mis-spe
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 of desire.

Desire is the life of prayer; and if you indeed
 what you pray for, you will also labour for w
 desire; and if you find it otherwise with you
 your coming to church is but like the Pharisee'
 up to the Temple to pray. If your heart be not
 neither will God; and then there is a sound
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 must needs go home without a blessing.

But this measure of evangelical righteous
 principal remark in all the rites and soler
 religion; and intends to say this, that Christi
 is something that is not seen, it is the hid
 the heart; *ἐστὶ τις Θεὸς ἑνδόν*, it is God
 within; and true Christians are men w

with a great deal of mind. And therefore those words of the Prophet Hosea, *Et loquar ad cor ejus*, "I will speak unto their heart," is a proverbial expression signifying to speak spiritual comforts, and in the mystical sense signifies *εὐαγγελίζειν*, to preach the Gospel; where the spirit is the preacher, and the heart is the disciple, and the sermon is of "righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." Our service to God must not be in outward works and scenes of religion, it must be something by which we become like to God; the divine prerogative must extend beyond the outward man; nay, even beyond the mortification of corporal vices; the Spirit of God must go *in trabis crassitudinem*, and mollify all our secret pride, and ingenerate in us a true humility, and a Christian meekness of spirit, and a divine charity. For in the Gospel, when God enjoins any external rite or ceremony, the outward work is always the less principal. For there is a bodily and a carnal part, an outside and a cabinet of religion, in Christianity itself. When we are baptized, the purpose of God is that we "cleanse ourselves from all pollution of the flesh and spirit;" and then we are indeed *καθαροὶ ὅλοι*, "clean all over." And when we communicate, the commandment means that we should be made one spirit with Christ, and should live on him, believing his word, praying for his Spirit, supported with his hope, refreshed by his promises, recreated by his comforts, and wholly and in all things conformable to his life: that is the true communion. The sacraments are not made for sinners until they do repent;

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alive unto God, or else they cannot eat: it is good to "confess our sins," as St. James says, and to open our wounds to the ministers of religion; but they absolve none but such as are truly penitent.

Solemn prayers and the sacraments, and the assemblies of the faithful, and fasting days, and acts of external worship, are the solemnities and rites of religion; but the religion of a Christian is in the heart and spirit. And this is that by which Clemens Alexandrinus defined the righteousness of a Christian, *Δικαιοσύνη συμφωνία τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς μερῶν*: all the parts and faculties that make up a man must make up our religion; but the heart is *domus principalis*, it is the court of the great King; and he is properly served with interior graces and moral virtues, with a humble and good mind, with a bountiful heart, and a willing soul and these will command the eye, and give laws to the hand, and make the shoulders stoop: but *anima cujus est quisque*; a man's soul is the man, and so is his religion; and so you are bound to understand it.

True it is, God works in us his graces by the sacrament; but we must dispose ourselves to a reception of the divine blessing by moral instruments. The *συνεργὸς τῷ Θεῷ*, it must work together with God, the body works together with the soul: but no external action can purify the soul, because, its natural operations being spiritual, it can no more be changed by a ceremony or an external solemnity, than an ear can be caressed with sweetmeats, or a man's belly be filled with music or long orations. The sum is, no Christian does his duty to God but he that

him with all his heart : and although it becomes us to fulfil all righteousness, even the external also ; yet that which makes us gracious in his eyes is not the external, it is the love of the heart, and the real change of the mind and obedience of the spirit : that is the first great measure of the righteousness evangelical.

2. The righteousness evangelical must exceed that of the Scribes and Pharisees by extension of our obedience to things of the same signification : *Leges non ex verbis, sed ex mente intelligendas* ^a, says the Law. There must be a commentary of kindness in the understanding the laws of Christ. We must understand all God's meaning ; we must secure his service ; we must be far removed from the dangers of his displeasure. And therefore our righteousness must be the purification and the perfection of the spirit. So that it will be nothing for us not to commit adultery, unless our eyes and hands be chaste, and the desires be clean. A Christian must not "look upon a woman to lust after her." He must hate sin in all dimensions, and in all instances, and in every angle of its reception. A Christian must not sin, and he must not be willing to sin if he durst. He must not be lustful, and therefore he must not feed high, nor drink deep, for these make provisions for lust : and amongst Christians, great eatings and drinkings are acts of uncleanness as well as of intemperance ; and whatever ministers to sin, and is the way of it, it partakes of its nature and its curse.

For it is remarkable that in good and evil the case is greatly different. Mortification (*e. g.*) is a duty of

Christianity ; but there is no law concerning the instruments of it. We are not commanded to roll ourselves on thorns, as St. Benedict did ; or to burn our flesh, like St. Martinian ; or to tumble in snows with St. Francis ; or in pools of water with St. Bernard. A man may chew aloes, or lie upon the ground, or wear sackcloth, if he have a mind to it, and if he finds it good in his circumstances and to his purposes of mortification ; but it may be he may do it alone by the instrumentalities of fear and love ; and so the thing be done, no special instrument is under a command. But although the instruments of virtue are free, yet the instruments and ministries of vice are not. Not only the sin is forbidden, but all the ways that lead to it. The instruments of virtue are of themselves indifferent, that is, not naturally, but good only for their relation sake, and in order to their end. But the instruments of vice are of themselves vicious ; they are part of the sin, they have a share in the phantastic pleasure, and they begin to estrange a man's heart from God, and are directly in the prohibition. For we are commanded to fly from temptation, to pray against it, " to abstain from all appearances of evil," to make a covenant with our eyes, to pluck them out if there be need. And if Christians do not understand the Commandments to this extension of signification, they will be innocent only by the measures of human laws, but not by the righteousness of God.

3. Of the same consideration it is also that we understand Christ's commandments to extend our duty, not only to what is named and what is not named, of

the same nature and design ; but that we abstain from all such things as are like to sins. Of this nature there are many. All violences of passion, irregularities in gaming, prodigality of our time, indecency of action, doing things unworthy of our birth or our profession, aptness to go to law ; *ambitus*, or a fierce prosecution even of honourable employments ; misconstruction of the words and actions of our brother ; easiness to believe evil of others, willingness to report the evil which we hear ; curiosity of diet, peevishness towards servants, indiscreet and importune standing for place, and all excess in ornaments ; for even this little instance is directly prohibited by the Christian and royal law of charity. For ἀγάπη οὐ περπερεύεται, saith St. Paul : the word is a word hard to be understood, we render it well enough, “charity vaunteth not itself ;” and upon this St. Basil says, that an ecclesiastic person (and so every Christian in his proportion) ought not to go in splendid and vain ornaments ; Πάν γὰρ ὃ μὴ διὰ χρεῖαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ καλλωπισμὸν παραλαμβάνεται, περπερέας ἔχει κατηγορίαν. Every thing that is not wisely useful or proportioned to the state of the Christian, but ministers only to vanity, is a part of this περπερεύεσθαι, it is a vaunting which the charity and the grace of a Christian does not well endure. These things are like to sins, they are of a suspicious nature, and not easily to be reconciled to the righteousness evangelical. It is no wonder if Christianity be nice and curious ; it is the cleanness and the purification of the soul, and Christ intends to present his Church to God ἄσπιλον καὶ

N.B. "or any such thing." If there be any irregularity that is less than a wrinkle, the evangelical righteousness does not allow it. These are such things, which if men will stand to defend, possibly a modest reprover may be more ashamed than an impudent offender. If I see a person apt to quarrel, to take every thing in an ill sense, to resent an error deeply, to reprove it bitterly, to remember it tenaciously, to repeat it frequently, to upbraid it unhandsomely, I think I have great reason to say, that this person does not do what becomes the sweetness of a Christian spirit. If it be replied, it is no where forbidden to chide an offending person, and that it cannot be a fault to understand when a thing is said or done amiss; I cannot return an answer but by saying, that suppose nothing of it were a sin, yet that every thing of it is so like a sin, that it is the worse for it; and that it were better not to do so; at least I think so, and so ought you too, if you be curious of your eternal interest: a little more tenderness here would do well. I cannot say that this dress, or this garment, or this standing for place is the direct sin of pride; but I am sure it looks like it in some persons; at least the letting it alone is much better, and is very like humility. And certain it is, that he is dull of hearing who understands not the voice of God, unless it be clamorous in an express and a loud commandment, proclaimed with trumpets and clarions upon Mount Sinai; but a willing and an obedient ear understands the still voice of Christ, and is ready to obey his meaning at half a word; and that is the righteousness evangelical. It not only abstains from sins named, and sins

implied; but from the beginnings and instruments of sin; and from whatsoever is like it. The Jews were so great haters of swine, upon pretensions of the Mosaic rites, that they would not so much as name a swine, but called it דָּבַר אֲחֵר *daber acher*, another thing. And thus the Romans in their auguries used *alterum* for *non bonum*. The simile of this St. Paul translates to a Christian duty. "Let not fornication be so much as named amongst you, ὡς πρέπον ἐν τοῖς ἀγίοις, as is comely amongst Christians:" that is, come not near a foul thing; speak not of it, let it be wholly banished from all your conversation; for this niceness and curiosity of duty becometh saints, and is an instance of the righteousness evangelical.

I have now done with the first sort of measures of the Christian righteousness; these which are the matter of our negative duty; these are the measures of our caution and our first innocence. But there are greater things behind, which although I must crowd up into a narrow room, yet I must not wholly omit them: therefore,

4. The fourth thing I shall note to you is, that whereas the righteousness of the Pharisees was but a fragment of the broken tables of Moses, the pursuance of some one grace, *lacinia sanctitatis*, a piece of the robe of righteousness; the righteousness evangelical must be like Christ's seamless coat, all of a piece from the top to the bottom; it must invest the whole soul. "Misma, dumah, massah," said the proverb of the Rabbins: it is this, and it is the other, and it must be all; it

holy actions scattered in our lives, and drawn into a sum at the day of judgment, but it must be a state of holiness. It was said of the Paphlagonian pigeons, διπλὴν ὀράσθαι τὴν καρδίαν, every one of them had two hearts; but that in our mystical theology signifies a wicked man. So said Solomon: “The perverse or wicked man *derachaim*, he is a man of two ways;”^a ἀνὴρ δίψυχος, so St. James expresses an unbeliever; a man that will and will not; something he does for God, and something for the world; he hath two minds; and in a good fit, in his well days, he is full of repentance, and overflows in piety; but the paroxysm will return in the day of temptation, and then he is gone infallibly. But know this, that in the righteousness evangelical, one duty cannot be exchanged for another, and three virtues will not make amends for one remaining vice. He that oppresses the poor, cannot make amends by giving good counsel; and if a priest be simoniacal, he cannot be esteemed righteous before God by preaching well, and taking care of his charge. To be zealous for God and for religion is good, but that will not legitimate cruelty to our brother. It is not enough for a man to be a good citizen, unless he be also a good man. But some men build their houses with half a dozen cross sticks, and turf is the foundation, and straw is the covering; and they think they dwell securely: their religion is made up of two or three virtues, and they think to commute with God, some good for some bad, πολλὰ μεμύγμενα πολλὰ δὲ αἰσχρὰ, as if one deadly wound were not enough to destroy the most healthful consti-

^a Prov. xxviii. 14.

tution in the world. Deceive not yourselves: it is all one on which hand we fall: —

———“Unum operantur
Et calor et frigus, sic hoc, sic illud adurit;
Sic tenebræ visum, sic sol contrarius aufert.”

The moon may burn us by night as well as the sun by day; and a man may be made blind by the light of the sun as well as by the darkness of the evening, and any one great mischief is enough to destroy one man. Some men are very meek and gentle naturally, and that they serve God withal; they pursue the virtue of their nature; that is, they tie a stone at the bottom of the well, and that is more than needs; the stone will stay there without that trouble; and this good inclination will of itself easily proceed to issue: and therefore our care and caution should be more carefully employed in mortification of our natures, and acquist of such virtues to which we are more refractory, and then cherish the other too, even as much as we please: but at the same time we are busy in this, it may be we are secret adulterers, and that will spoil our confidences in the goodness of the other instance. Others are greatly bountiful to the poor, and love all mankind, and hurt nobody but themselves; but it is a thousand pities to see such loving good-natured persons to perish infinitely by one crime, and to see such excellent good things thrown away to please an uncontrolled and a stubborn lust: but so do some escape out of a pit, and are taken in a trap at their going forth; and stepping aside to avoid the hoar frost, fall into a valley full of snow. The

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choice, and cherished by delight and fair experie
Christians are a willing people; *homines bonæ volun*
men of good will, arbores Domini. So they are
tically represented in Scripture. "The trees of the
are full of sap." Among the Hebrews the "trees o
Lord" did signify such trees as grew of themselves
all that are of God's planting are such as have a
principle within, and grow without constraint. Πα
τα τοῖς ἀπειρημένοις νόμοις, καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις βίοις
τοῖς νόμοις, one said it of Christians; they obey
laws, and by the goodness of their lives exceed
laws: and certain it is, no man hath the righteou
evangelical if he resolves always to take all his li
in every thing that is merely lawful, or if he
poses to do no more than he must needs, that is
more than he is just commanded. For the reason
plain.

1. The Christian that resolves to do every thing
is lawful. will many times

not in all their instances a great landmark set between them, like warlike nations separate by prodigious walls, vast seas, and portentous hills ; but they are oft-times like the bounds of a parish ; men are fain to cut a cross upon the turf, and make little marks and annual perambulations for memorials : so it is in lawful and unlawful ; by a little mistake a man may be greatly ruined. He that drinks till his tongue is as full as a sponge, and his speech a little stammering and tripping, hasty and disorderly, though he be not gone as far as drunkenness, yet he is gone beyond the severity of a Christian ; and when he is just passed into unlawful, if he disputes too curiously, he will certainly deceive himself for want of a wiser curiosity.

But, 2. He that will do all that he thinks he may lawfully, had need have an infallible guide always by him, who should without error be able to answer all cases of conscience, which will happen every day in a life so careless and insecure ; for if he should be mistaken, his error is his crime, and not his excuse. A man in this case had need be very sure of his proposition ; which because he cannot be, in charity to himself, he will quickly find that he is bound to abstain from all things that are uncertainly good, and from all disputable evils ; from things which, although they may be in themselves lawful, yet accidentally, and that from a thousand causes, may become unlawful. *Pavidus quippe et formidulosus est Christianus* saith Salvian *atque in*

then when he hath no other reason to be afraid, but because he would not do so for all the world.

3. He that resolves to use all his liberty cannot be innocent, so long as there are in the world so many bold temptations, and presumptuous actions, so many scandals, and so much ignorance in the things of God; so many things that are suspicious, and so many things that are of evil report; so many ill customs and disguises in the world, with which if we resolve to comply in all that is supposed lawful, a man may be in the regions of death before he perceive his head to ache; and instead of a staff in his hand, may have a splinter in his elbow.

4. Besides all this, he that thus stands on his terms with God, and so carefully husbands his duty, and thinks to make so good a market of obedience, that he will quit nothing which he thinks he may lawfully keep, shall never be exemplar in his life, and shall never grow in grace, and therefore shall never enter into glory. He, therefore, that will be righteous by the measures evangelical, must consider not only what is lawful, but what is expedient; not only what is barely safe, but what is worthy; that which may secure, and that which may do advantage to that concern that is the greatest in the world.

And, 2. The case is very like with them that resolve to do no more good than is commanded them. For, 1. It is infinitely unprofitable as to our eternal interest; because no man does do all that is commanded at all times; and therefore he that will not sometimes do more, besides that he hath no love, no zeal of duty, no

holy fires in his soul; — beside, make any amends towards the science. “Let him that stole well; but that is not well enough, make restitution of what he has stolen; and so it is in all things. To do what is commanded in the present; we are tied to this in every period of our lives; but, therefore, more than just the present duty, with its deficiencies, and fill up the gaps, as best we can. This is a material consideration in the science evangelical.

But then, 2. We must know that in the commandments every degree of internal obedience is required; and therefore, what we can do, we must do it as well as we can. Now, he who does his duty with the biggest affection he can, with the best that he can; and he can never know that what is commanded, unless he does all to the power. For God hath put no limit but love and ability; and therefore, whoever says, “Hitherto I have done, and no further; this I will do, and no more; will I serve God, but that shall be all;” he is in the affections of a slave, and the religion of a Pharisee, and the craft of a merchant, and the falseness of a hypocrite; but he hath not the proper measures of the righteousness evangelical. But so it happens in the mill of the river Borborus, when the eye of t

besides this, I say, he has his own parental matter, and if they can get loose to half a life, that is all; but the hinder parts, which were not formed before the setting of the sun, stick fast to their beds of mud, and the little moiety of a creature dies before it could be well said to live: so it is with those Christians who will do all that they think lawful, and will do no more than what they suppose necessary; they do but peep into the light of the Sun of righteousness; they have the beginnings of life, but their hinder parts, their passions and affections, and the desires of the lower man are still unformed; and he that dwells in this state is just so much of a Christian as a spore is of a plant, and a mushroom of a shrub: they may be as sensible as an oyster, and discourse at the rate of a chameleon, but are greatly short of the righteousness evangelical.

I have now done with those parts of the Christian righteousness which were not only an *ὑπεροχή* excess, but an *ἀντιστοιχείωσις* to the pharisaical: because I ought not to conceal any thing from you; we must integrate our duty, and secure our title to the kingdom of heaven, there is this to be added, that the precept of our blessed Saviour is to be extended to direct degrees of our duty. We must do more duty, and we must do them better. And in this, although we can have no positive measures, because they are potentially infinite, yet therefore we ought to take the best, because we are sure the greatest is not too big; and we are not sure that God will accept a worse, when we can do a better. Now, although this is to be understood of the internal affection only, because that must never be abated, but God is at all times to be loved

and served with all our heart; yet concerning the degrees of external duty, as prayers and alms, and the like, we are certainly tied to a greater excellence in the degree than was that of the Scribes and Pharisees. I am obliged to speak one word for the determination of this inquiry; viz. to how much more of external duty Christians are obliged than was in the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees. In order to this, briefly thus.

I remember that Salvian, speaking of old men summing up their repentances, and making amends for the sins of their whole life, exhorts them to alms and works of piety: but inquiring how much they should do towards the redeeming of their souls, answers with a little sarcasm, but plainly enough to give a wise man an answer: "A man," says he, "is not bound to give away all his goods, unless peradventure he owes all to God; but in that case I cannot tell what to say, for then the case is altered. A man is not bound to part with all his estate, that is, unless his sins be greater than his estate; but if they be, then he may consider of it again, and consider better. And he need not part with it all, unless pardon be more precious to him than his money, and unless heaven be worth it all, and unless he knows justly how much less will do it. If he does, let him try his skill, and pay just so much, and no more, than he owes to God; but if he does not know, let him be sure to do enough." His meaning is this: Not that a man is bound to give all he hath, and leave his children beggars; he is bound from that by another

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ally, the meaning is, we should consecrate all our time
by taking good portions out of all our time for tha
duty: the devoutest person being like the waters of
Siloam, a perpetual spring, but not a perpetual current
that is always in readiness, but actually thrusting forth
his waters at certain periods every day.* So out of al
our estate we must take for religion and repentance
such portions as the whole estate can allow; so much
will consecrate the rest; so much as is fit to bring wh
we pray for a great pardon, and deprecate a migh
anger, and turn aside an intolerable fear, and will p
chase an excellent peace, and will reconcile a sin
Now, in this case, a Christian is to take his meas
according to the rate of his contrition and his lov
religion and his fear, his danger and his expect
and let him measure his amends wisely, his
pouring in, and his fear thrusting it down; and i
very well if his love also would make it run over
deceive not yourselves, there is no other meas
this: So much good as a man does, or so muc
would do if he could, so much of religion and
of repentance he hath, and no more: and a m
ordinarily know that he is in a saveable con
by the testimony which a divine philanthr
good mind always gives, which is, to omit
tunity of doing good in our several prop
possibilities.

There was an alms which the Scribes a
were obliged by the Law to give, the te
third year's increase: this they always

sort of alms is called *δικαιοσύνη*, righteousness or justice; but the alms which Christians ought to give is *χάρις*, and it is *ἀγάπη*, it is grace, and it is love, and it is abundance; and so the old Rabbins told: *Justitia propriè dicitur in iis quæ jure facimus; benignitas in iis quæ præter jus*. It is more than righteousness, it is bounty and benignity; for that is the Christian measure. And so it is in the other parts and instances of the righteousness evangelical. And therefore it is remarkable that the saints in the Old Testament were called *εὐθείς*, right men; and the Book of Genesis, as we find it twice attested by St. Hierome, was called by the ancient Hellenists *βίβλος εὐθέων*, the book of right or just men, the book of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.^a But the word for Christians is *χρηστοί*, good men, harmless, and profitable; men that are good, and men that do good. In pursuance of which, it is further observed by learned men, that the word *ἀρετή*, or virtue, is not in the four Gospels; for the actions of Christ's disciples should not be *in gradu virtutis* only, virtuous and laudable; such as these Aristotle presses in his *Magna Moralia*; they must pass on to a further excellency than so, the same which he calls *πράξεις τῶν ἡρώων*; they must be sometimes, and as often as we can, *in gradu heroico*, or, that I may use the Christian style, they must be actions of perfection. Righteousness was the *συνώνυμον* for alms in the Old Testament, and *τελειότης*, or perfection, was the word for alms in the New; as appears by comparing the fifth of St. Matthew and the sixth of St. Luke together; and that is the full state of this difference in

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the inquiries of the righteousness pharisaical and e-
 gelical.

I have many more things to say; but ye cannot
 them now, because the time is past. One thing, in-
 were fit to be spoken of, if I had any time left; but
 can only name it, and desire your consideration to
 it up. This great rule that Christ gives us, does
 and that principally too, concern churches and com-
 wealths, as well as every single Christian. Chri-
 Parliaments must exceed the religion and govern-
 of the Sanhedrim. Your laws must be more holy
 condition of the subjects be made more tolerable
 laws of Christ must be strictly enforced: you must
 suffer your great Master to be dishonoured, nor his
 religion dismembered by sects, or disgraced by im-
 you must give no impunity to vicious persons, and
 must take care that no great example be great-
 rupted: you must make better provisions for you-
 than they did; and take more care even of the e-
 advantages of Christ's religion and his ministers
 they did of the priests and Levites: that is, in all
 you must be more zealous to promote the kingdom
 Christ, than they were for the ministries of Mo-
 ses.

The sum of all is this: the righteousness evan-
 gelical is the same with that which the ancients called
 λικὴν διάγειν πολιτείαν, to live an apostolical li-
 was the measure of Christians, the οἱ ἐναρέτως
 μέστω βιοῦντες, men that desired to please God
 is, as Apostolius* most admirably describes it, 1

* Ἔστι δὲ αὐτὴ ὁφθαλμῶν ἀκρίθεια, γλώσσης ἐγκράτεια, σώ-
 ...

are curious of their very eyes, temperate in their tongue, of a mortified body and a humble spirit, pure in their intentions, masters of their passions: men who, when they are injured, return honourable words; when they are lessened in their estates, increase in their charity; when they are abused, they yet are courteous, and give intreaties; when they are hated, they pay love; men that are dull in contentions, and quick in loving-kindnesses, swift as the feet of Asahel, and ready as the chariots of Amminadib. True Christians are such as are crucified with Christ, and dead unto all sin; and finally, place their whole love on God, and for his sake upon all mankind. This is the description of a Christian, and the true state of the righteousness evangelical; so that it was well said of Athenagoras, οὐδεὶς χριστιανὸς πονηρὸς, εἰ μὴ ὑποκρίνεται τὸν λόγον^a, no Christian is a wicked man, unless his life be a continual lie, unless he be false to God and his religion. For the righteousness of the Gospel is, in short, nothing else but a transcript of the life of Christ. *De matthana nahaliel; de nahaliel Bamoth*, said R. Joshua. Christ is the image of God, and every Christian is the image of Christ, whose example is inimitable; but it is the best, and his laws are the most perfect, but the most easy, and the promises by which he invites our greater services are most excellent, but most true; and the rewards shall be hereafter, but they shall abide for ever, and (that I may

προτίθει, ἀποστερούμενος μὴ δικάζου, μισούμενος ἀγάπῃ, βιαζόμενος ἀνέχου, βλασφημούμενος παρακάλει, νεκρώθητι τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, συσταυρώθητι τῷ Χριστῷ, ὅλην τὴν ἀγάπην μετὰθεσ ἐπὶ τὸν Κύριον.

^a Legat. pro Christianis.

take notice of the last words of my text) the threatenings to them that fall short of this righteousness are most terrible, but most certainly shall come to pass: they shall “never enter into the kingdom of heaven;” that is, their portion shall be shame and an eternal prison, ἀσφαλτῶδες ῥεῦμα, a flood of brimstone, and a cohabitation with devils to eternal ages: and if this consideration will not prevail, there is no place left for persuasion, and there is no use of reason; and the greatest hopes and the greatest fears can be no argument or sanction of laws; and the greatest good in the world is not considerable, and the greatest evil is not formidable: but if they be, there is no more to be said; if you would have your portion with Christ, you must be righteous by his measures: and these are they that I have told you of.

THE CHRISTIAN'S CONQUEST
OF SIN.

[BISHOP TAYLOR.]

ROM. vii. 19.

*For the good that I would I do not :
I would not, that I do*

WHAT the eunuch said to Philip, will be found in the book of the Prophet Isaiah, — “Of whom shall I say prophet this, of himself, or some other?” The same question I am to ask concerning the text: Does St. Paul mean this of himself, or of some other? It is hoped that he speaks it of himself, and means, that though his understanding is clear, and he ought to serve God, and that he has perfect desires to do so, yet the law of God is opposed by a law of sin within. We have a corrupt nature, and a body of infirmity, and our reason is in the dark, and we must go out of the world to leave our sin. For besides that some sins are brave and honourable, and he is a baffled person who dares not kill his brother like a gentleman; and our civilities are made a snare, and our civilities are

kind to your guest, you step aside, and lay away the Christian; your love cannot be expressed unless you do him an ill turn, and civilly invite him to a fever. Justice is too often taught to bow to great interests, and men cannot live without flattery; and there are some trades that minister to sin, so that without a sin we cannot maintain our families; and if you mean to live, you must do as others do. Now, so long as men see they are like to be undone by innocence, and that they can no way live but by compliance with the evil customs of the world, men conclude practically, because they must live they must sin; they must live handsomely, and therefore must do some things unhandsomely: and so, upon the whole matter, sin is unavoidable. Fain they would, but cannot tell how to help it. But since it is no better, it is well it is no worse. For it is St. Paul's case, no worse man: he would and he would not, he did and he did not; he was willing, but he was not able: and therefore the case is clear, that if a man strives against sin, and falls unwillingly, it shall not be imputed to him; he may be a regenerate man for all that. A man must indeed wrangle against sin when it comes, and, like a peevish lover, resist and consent at the same time, and then all is well; for this not only consists with, but is a sign of, the state of regeneration.

If this be true, God will be very ill served. If it be not true, most men will have but small hopes of being saved; because this is the condition of most men. What then is to be done? Truth can do us no hurt; and therefore be willing to let this matter pass under examination; for if it trouble us now, it will bring comfort

lamentation. And therefore, before I enter into the main enquiry, I shall, by describing the state of the man of whom St. Paul speaks here, tell you plainly who it is that is in that state of sad things: and then do ye make your own use according as you shall find it necessary for the saving of your souls, which I am sure ought to be the end of all preaching.

The man St. Paul speaks of is one that is "dead," ver. 9, one that was "deceived" and "slain," ver. 11., one to whom "pain was exceeding sinful," ver. 13., that is, highly imputed, greatly malicious, infinitely destructive; to whom who is "carnal, and sold under sin;" ver. 14., to whom that sins against his conscience and his reason, ver. 15. he is one in whom sin dwells, but the Spirit of God does not dwell; for "no good thing dwells in him," ver. 18.; he is one who is "brought into captivity by the law of sin;" he is a servant of uncleanness, with his deeds and members serving the law of sin, ver. 25. Now if this be a state of regeneration, I wonder what it can be, a state of reprobation; for though this be the state of nature, yet it cannot be the state of one redeemed by the Spirit of Christ; and therefore flatter not yourselves any more that it is enough for you to have good desires, and bad performances: never think sin can reign in you, and yet you be servants that sin can dwell in you, and at the same Spirit of God can dwell in you too; or that wrath can abide together. The sum of affairs is, If ye live after the flesh, ye shall die; but if ye are led by the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the

body, ye shall live:" but not else, upon any terms whatsoever.

My text is one of the hard places of St. Paul, which, as St. Peter says, "the ignorant and the unstable wrest to their own damnation." But because in this case the danger is so imminent, and the deception would be so intolerable, St. Paul immediately after this chapter (in which, under his own person, as was usual with him to do, he describes the state of a natural man advanced no further than Moses's law, and not redeemed by the blood of Christ, or enlightened by the Spirit of God, and taught by the wiser lessons and sermons of the Gospel), immediately spends the next chapter in opposing the evangelical state to the legal, the spiritual to the carnal, the Christian to the natural; and tells us, plainly, he that is redeemed by the blood of Christ is redeemed from the power of sin; he that is Christ's freed man is not a slave of sin, not captive to the devil at his will; "he that is in the flesh cannot please God," but every servant of Christ is freed from sin, and is a servant of righteousness, and redeemed from all his vain conversation; for this is the end of Christ's coming, and cannot be in vain unless we make it so. He came to bless us by "turning every one of us from our iniquities." Now, concerning this, besides the evidence of the thing itself, that St. Paul does not speak these words of himself, but by a μετασχηματισμός, under his own borrowed person, he describes the state of a carnal, unredeemed, unregenerate person, is expressly affirmed by St. Irenæus and Origen. by Tertullian and St. Basil.



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this desiring to do good, but is not able. And it is upon this account that Lactantius brings in the Pagan, or natural man, complaining, *Volo equidem non peccare, sed vincor, indutus enim sum carne fragili et imbecillâ*. This is very true; and I add only this caution: There is not in the corruption of our nature so much as will save us harmless, or make us excuseable, if we sin against God. Natural corruption can make us criminal, but not innocent; for though by him that willingly abides in the state of mere nature, sin cannot be avoided, yet no man is in that state longer than he loves to be so; for the grace of God came to rescue us from this evil portion, and is always present to give us a new nature, and create us over again: and therefore, though sin is made necessary to the natural man by his impotency and fond loves, that is, by his unregenerate nature; yet, in the whole constitution of affairs, God hath more than made it up by his grace, if we will make use of it. *In pueris elucet spes plurimorum, quæ ubi emoritur ætate, manet, non defecisse naturam, sed curam*, said Quintilian, we cannot tell what we are, or what we think, in our infancy; and when we can know our thoughts, we easily observe that we have learned much of our evil examples, and the corrupt manner of conversation: *Et ubi per socordiam ætas in defluxère, naturæ infirmitas accedat*, said Seneca, is too true; we grow lazy and idle, we lose our time, and abuse our parts, and we excuse ourselves, and lay the fault wholly upon our infirmities: but we must remember that by this

which cannot enter into heaven. The natural man and the natural child are not the same thing in true divinity. The natural child, indeed, can do no good; but the natural man cannot choose but do evil; but it is because he will do so; he is not born in the second birth, and renewed in the baptism of the Spirit.

2. We have brought ourselves into an accidental necessity of sinning by the evil principles which are sucked in by great parts of mankind. We are taught ways of going to heaven without forsaking our sins; of repentance without restitution; of being in charity without hearty forgiveness, and without love; of believing our sins to be pardoned before they are mortified; of trusting in Christ's death without conformity to his life; of being in God's favour upon the only account of being of such an opinion; and that when we are once in, we can never be out. We are taught to believe that the events of things do not depend upon our crucifying our evil and corrupt affections, but upon eternal and unalterable counsels; that the promises are not the rewards of obedience, but graces pertaining only to a few predestinates, and yet men are saints for all that; and that the laws of God are of the race of the giants, not to be observed by any grace or by any industry. This is the catechism of the ignorant and the profane; but without all peradventure the contrary propositions are the way to make the world better; but certainly they that believe these things do not believe it necessary that we should eschew all evil; and no wonder, then, if, when men upon these accounts

BP. TAYLOR.] OVER THE BODY OF SIN.

prevailing, still dwelling within them, and still unquerable by so slight and disheartened labours.

Ἰδιώτης πᾶς καὶ ἀπαιδευτος τρόπον τινὰ παῖς every fool and every ignorant person is a child and it is no wonder that he who talks foolishly should do childishly and weakly.

3. To our weak and corrupted nature, and our false discourses, men do daily superinduce evil habits and customs of sinning. *Consuetudo mala tanquam loricula infixus animæ*, said the Father; an evil custom is like a hook in the soul, and draws it whither the devil pleases. When it comes to the καρδία γεγυμνασμένη πλεονεξίας as St. Peter's word is, "a heart exercised with covetous practices," then it is also ἀσθενής, it is weak and unable to do the good it fain would, or to avoid the evil in a good fit it pretends to hate. This is so I shall not insist upon it; but add this only, wherever a habit is contracted, it is all one whether it be virtue or vice; it is as easy as delicious, as unalterable as virtue as in vice; for what helps nature bring forth a vicious habit, the same and much more the Spirit of God, by his power and by his comforts, can drive out the virtuous; and then we are well again. You see, therefore, this who are, and why they are, in this evil condition. The evil natures, and the evil principles, and the evil manners of the world, these are the causes of our imperfect willings and weaker actings in the things of God; and as long as men stay here, sin will be unavoidable. For even meat itself is loathsome to a weak stomach; and it is impossible for him that is heartily

any eating is impossible, will be best confuted by seeing all the healthful men in the world eat heartily every day.

2. But what then? Cannot sin be avoided? Cannot a Christian mortify the deeds of the body? Cannot Christ redeem us, and cleanse us from all our sins? Cannot the works of the devil be destroyed? That is the next particular to be inquired of: whether or no it be not necessary, and therefore very possible, for a servant of God to pass from this evil state of things, and not only hate evil, but avoid it also?

"He that saith he hath not sinned, is a liar;" but what then? Because a man hath sinned, it does not follow he must do so always. "Hast thou sinned? do so no more," said the wise Ben-Sirach; and so said Christ to the poor paralytic, "Go and sin no more." They were excellent words spoken by a holy prophet, "Let not the sinner say, he hath not sinned; for God shall burn coals of fire upon his head, that saith before the Lord God and his glory, I have not sinned." Well, that case is confessed; "All men have sinned, and are short of the glory of God." But is there no remedy for this? Must it always be so? And must sin ever have the upper hand, and for ever baffle our resolutions, and all our fierce and earnest promises of amendment? God forbid. There was a time then to come, and, blessed be God, it hath been long come: "while," saith that prophet, "and iniquity shall be cut out of the earth, and righteousness shall dwell there." For that is in the day of Christ's

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Christ reigns in our hearts by his Spirit, Dagon and the ark cannot stand together: we cannot serve Christ and Belial. And as in the state of nature no good thing dwells within us, so when Christ rules in us, no evil thing can abide; for "every plant that my heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted up," and cast away into the fires of consumption or purification. But how shall this come to pass, since we all find ourselves so infinitely weak and foolish? I shall tell you. "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven," saith Christ. It is impossible to nature; it is impossible to them that are given to vanity; it is impossible for them that delight in the evil snare. But Christ adds, "With men this is impossible, but with God all things are possible." What we cannot do by ourselves, God can do for us and with us; what nature cannot do, the grace of God can: so that nothing may be done, not indeed by ourselves, but *gratia Dei mecum*, saith St. Paul; God and man together do it. But if it can be done any way that God put into our powers, the consequent is this: no real good will shall be taken in exchange for the real actual mortification of his sins. He that sins would fain not sin, but sin is present with him whether he will or no, let him take heed; for the same is the law of sin and the law of death," saith the Apostle, and that man's heart is not right with God. For impossible men should pray for deliverance, and be heard; that they should labour, and not be

no man, therefore, please himself with talking of great things, with perpetual conversation in pious discourses, or with ineffective desires of serving God. He that does not practice as well as he talks, and do what he desires, and what he ought to do, confesses himself to sin greatly against his conscience: and it is a prodigious folly to think that he is a good man, because, though he does sin, yet it was against his mind to do so. A man's conscience can never condemn him, if that be his excuse, to say that his conscience checked him; and that will be but a sad apology at the day of judgment. Some men talk like angels, and pray with fervour, and meditate with deep recesses, and speak to God with loving affections and words of union, and adhere to him in silent devotion, and when they go abroad are as passionate as ever, peevish as a frightened fly, vexing themselves with their own reflections; they are cruel in their bargains, unmerciful to their tenants, and proud as a barbarian prince; they are, for all their fine words, impatient of reproof, scornful to their neighbours, lovers of money, supreme in their own thoughts, and submit to none; all their spiritual life they talk of, is nothing but spiritual fancy and illusion; they are still under the power of their passions, and their sin rules them imperiously, and carries them away infallibly. Let these men consider, there are some men think it impossible to do as much as they do. The common swearer cannot leave that vice, and talk well; and these men, that talk thus well, think they cannot do as well as they talk; but both of them are under the power of

equally not the servants of God. This is true ; but it is equally as true, that there is no necessity for all this ; for it ought and it may be otherwise if we please : for, I pray, be pleased to hear St. Paul : “ Walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the lusts of the flesh.”^a There is your remedy ; “ for the Spirit lusteth against the flesh, and the flesh against the Spirit ;” there is the cause of it ; *ἵνα μὴ ποιῆτε*, “ so that ye may not, or cannot do the things ye would :” that is the blessed consequent and product of that cause. That is, plainly, as there is a state of carnality (of which St. Paul speaks in my text), so that in that state a man cannot but obey the flesh, so there is also a state of spirituality, when sin is dead and righteousness is alive ; and in this state the flesh can no more prevail than the Spirit could do in the other. Some men cannot choose but sin, for “ the carnal mind is not subject to God, neither indeed can be^b,” saith St. Paul ; but there are also some men that cannot endure anything that is not good. It is a great pain for a temperate man to suffer the disorders of drunkenness ; and the shames of lust are intolerable to a chaste and modest person. This also is affirmed by St. John : “ Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin, for his seed remaineth in him.” So that you see it is possible for a good man not to commit the sin to which he is tempted ; but the Apostle says more : “ He doth not commit sin, neither indeed can he, because he is born of God.”

And this is agreeable to the words of our blessed Saviour : “ A corrupt tree cannot bring forth good

^a Gal. v. 16.^b Rom. viii. 7.^c 1 John, iii. 9.

fruit, and a good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit^a;" that is, as the child of hell is carried to sin *pleno impetu*, he does not check at it, he does it and is not troubled; so, on the other side, a child of God is as fully convinced of righteousness, and that which is unrighteous is as hateful to him as colocynths to the taste, or the sharpest punctures to the pupil of the eye. We may see something of this in common experiences. What man of ordinary prudence and reputation can be tempted to steal? or for what price would he be tempted to murder his friend? If we did hate all sins as we hate these, would it not be as easy to be as innocent in other instances as most men are in these? and we should have as few drunkards as we have thieves. In such as these we do not complain in the words of my text, "What I would not, that I do; and what I would I do not." Does not every good man overcome all the power of great sins? And can he by the Spirit of God and right reason, by fear and hope, conquer Goliath, and beat the sons of the giant; and can he not overcome the little children of Gath? Or is it harder to overcome a little sin than a great one? Are not the temptations to little sins very little? and yet are they greater and stronger than a mighty grace? Could the poor demoniac, that lived in the graves, by the power of the devil break his iron chain in pieces? and cannot he who hath the Spirit of God dissolve the chains of sin? "Through Christ, that strengthens me, I can do all things," saith St. Paul: *satis sibi copiarum*

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said one in Livy; which is best rendered by St. Paul
 "If God be with us, who can be against us?" Nay
 there is an *ὑπερνικῶμεν* in St. Paul, "we are more
 than conquerors:" for even amongst an army of con-
 querors there are degrees of exaltation: some serve
 God like the centurion, and some like St. Peter; some
 like Martha, and some like Mary; *μετ' εὐκολίας ἀπὸς*
ἀνευ πόνων καὶ ἰδρώτων, all good men conquer the
 temptations, but some with more ease, and some with
 clearer victory; and more than thus, *Non solum vipe-*
terimus, sed ex ea antidotum conficimus, we kill the
 viper, and make treacle of him; that is, not only es-
 cape from, but get advantages by, temptations. But
 commonly are more afraid than hurt: "Let us, there-
 fore, lay aside every weight, and the sin that doth so
 easily beset us^a;" so we read the words of the Apostle,
 but St. Chrysostom's rendition of them is better: the
 word *εὐπερίστατος* is a perfect passive, and
 signify the strength and irresistibility of sin; but
 the quite contrary: *εὐπερίστατος ἁμαρτία*,
 the sin that is so easily avoided, as they that
 stand that language know very well. And if
 so wise and valiant as not to affright ourselves
 with our own terrors, we should quickly find, that by
 the aid of the Spirit of God we can do more than
 we could. It was said of Alexander, *Ben-*
vana contemnere, he did no great matter in
 the Persians, because they were a pitiful
 people; only he understood them to be
 wise and bold enough not to fear such im-

^a Heb. xii. 1.

of clouts. But men, in the matter of great sins and little, do as the magicians of Egypt: when Moses turned his rod into a serpent, it moved them not; but when they saw the lice and the flies, then they were afraid. We see that by the grace of God we can escape great sins; but we start at flies, and a bird out of a bush disorders us: the lion in the way troubles us not, but a frog and a worm affrights us. Remember the saying of St. Paul, "Christ came to redeem to himself a church, and to present it pure and spotless before the throne of grace;" and if you mean to be of this number, you must endeavour to be under this qualification, that is, (as Paul laboured to be) "void of offence both towards God and towards man." And so I have done with the second proposition; it is necessary that all sin, great and little, should be mortified and dead in us, and that we no longer abide in that state of slavery as to say, "The good that I would, I do not; but the evil that I would not, that I do."

3. In the next place we are to inquire in what degree this is to be effected; for though in negatives properly there are no degrees, yet unless there be some allays in this doctrine it will not be so well, and it may be your experiences will for ever confute my arguments: for, "Who can say that he is clean from his sin?" (said the Wise Man); and as our blessed Saviour said, "He that is innocent among you all, let him throw the first stone at the sinner," and spare not.

To this I answer in the words of St. Gregory: "All

CONQUEST [BP. TAYLOR]

BP. TAYLOR.] OVER THE BODY OF SIN.

matter of great sin in Egypt: when Moses turned them not; but when they were sinners, then they were sinners. God we can escape, and a bird out of a basket way troubles us not.

Remember the sinners who redeem to himself, and spotless before us. You mean to be of sin, to be under this question, (void towards man." And this proposition; it is a little, should be mortified longer abide in this good that I would not, that I do." inquire in what, though in negative unless there be some so well, and it may confute my argument. He is clean from his our blessed Saviour. I say you all, let him and spare not. St. Gregory: "A

fore, even after our innocence, we must pray for *pauper ut quæ succumbere discussa poterat, ex judicis pietate valeat*, that our innocence, which, in strictness of divine judgment, would be found spotted and stained by the mercy of our Saviour may be accepted."

Bernard expresses this well: *Nostra siqua est habet justitia, recta forsitan sed non pura*; our humble righteousness is perhaps right in the eyes of God, but not pure; that is, accepted by his mercy, but it is not as dares not contend in judgment. For as no man is so much a sinner, but he sometimes speaks a good word, or does some things not ill; and yet that good interrupts not that state of evil; so it is among very good men, from whom sometimes may pass something that is not commendable; and yet their righteousness is so habitually right towards God, that they win nothing but (I do not say which God in justice condemns but) which in mercy he will not impute to eternal damnation. It was the case of David; "he was a man after God's own heart;" nay, it is said, "he was blameless save in the matter of Uriah;" and yet we know he numbered the people, and God was angry with him and punished him for it: but because he was a good man and served God heartily, that other sin of his was imputed to him no further; God set upon his head for it, but it was *salvo contentemine* the main stake was safe.

For, concerning good men, the question is whether or no God could not, in the rigour of justice, blame their indiscretion, or impute a foolish

tion, for a less devout prayer, or weak hands, for a fearful heart, or a trembling faith: these are not the measures by which God judges his children; "for he knoweth whereof we are made, and he remembers that we are but dust." But the question is, whether any man that is covetous or proud, false to his trust, or a drunkard, can at the same time be a child of God? No, certainly, he cannot. But, then, we know that God judges us by Jesus Christ; that is, with the allays of mercy, with an eye of pardon, with the sentences of a Father, by the measures of a man, and by analogy to all our unavoidable abatements. God could enter with us into a more severe judgment, but he would not; and no justice tied him from exercising that mercy. But according to the measures of the Gospel, "he will judge every man according to his works." Now what these measures are is now the question. To which I answer, first, in general; and then more particularly.

1. In general, thus. A Christian's innocence is always to be measured by the plain lines and measures of the Commandments; but are not to be taken into account by uncertain and fond opinions, and the scruples of zealous and timorous persons. My meaning is this: Some men tell us that every natural inclination to a forbidden object is a sin; which they that believe, finding them to be natural, do also confess that such sins are unavoidable. But if these natural and first motions be sins, then a man sins whether he resists them or resists them not, whether he prevails or pre-

CONQUEST [BRILL]

BP. TAYLOR.] OVER THE BODY OF SIN.

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our life; if we be sincere and real in our a
intentions. For this is the *ἀναμαρτησία*
requires of us all; this is that sinless state,
if God does not find us, we shall never see h
face, and if he does find us, we shall certainly
by the blood of Jesus. For in the style of
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David spake heartily, "I am utterly purpose
mouth shall not offend; and thou shalt find

this, and does actions and uses means accordingly, not being deceived by his own false heart, nor abused by evil propositions, this man will stand upright in the congregations of the just; and though he cannot challenge heaven by merit, yet he shall receive it as a gift, by promise and by grace: "*Lex nos innocentes esse jubet, non curiosos*," said Seneca. For God takes no judgment of us by any measures, but of the commandment without, and the heart and the conscience within; but he never intended his laws to be a snare to us, or to entrap us with consequences and dark interpretations, by large deductions and witty similitudes of faults; but he requires of us a sincere heart, and a hearty labour in the work of his commandments: he calls upon us to avoid all that which his law plainly forbids, and which our consciences do condemn. This is the general measure. The particulars are briefly these.

1. Every Christian is bound to arrive at that state, that he have remaining in him no habit of any sin whatsoever. "Our old man must be crucified;" "the body of sin must be destroyed;" he must "no longer serve sin;" "sin shall not have the dominion over you." All these are the Apostle's words: that is, plainly, as I have already declared, you must not be at that pass, that though ye would avoid sin ye cannot: for he that is so is a most perfect slave; and Christ's freed-man cannot be so. Nay, he that loves sin, and delights in it, hath no liberty indeed, but he hath more show of it than he that obeys it against his will.

———"Libertatis servaveris umbram,
Si quicquid jubeare velis :"

He that loves to be in the place is less a prisoner than he that is confined against his will.

2. He that commits any one sin by choice and deliberation is an enemy to God, and is under the dominion of the flesh. In the case of deliberate sins, one act does give the denomination: he is an adulterer that so much as once foully breaks the holy laws of marriage. "He that offends in one is guilty of all," saith St. James. St. Peter's denial, and David's adultery, had passed on to a fatal issue, if the mercy of God and a great repentance had not interceded. But they did so no more; and so God restored them to grace and pardon. And in this sense are the words of St. John $\acute{\omicron} \pi \omega \acute{\iota} \omega \nu \tau \eta \nu \acute{\alpha} \mu \alpha \rho \tau \iota \alpha \nu$, "He that does a sin is of the devil, and he that is born of God $\acute{\alpha} \mu \alpha \rho \tau \iota \alpha \nu \circ \upsilon \pi \omega \iota$ he does not commit a sin^a:" he chooses none, he loves none, he endures none, *talía quæ non faciet bonæ fidei et spei Christianus*; they do no great sin, and love little one. "A sin chosen and deliberately done as Tertullian's expression is, "*crimen devorator salutis*;" it devours salvation. For as there are sins which can be done but once; as a man can kill a father but once, or himself but once; so in those which can be repeated, a perfect choice is equivalent to a habit; it is the same in principle, that a habit is the product. In short, he is not a child of God who knowingly and deliberately chooses any thing that he hates.

^a 1 John, iii. 8.

3. Every Christian ought to attain to such a state of life, as that he never sin, not only by a long deliberation, but also not by passion. I do not say that he is not a good Christian, who by passion is suddenly surprised and falls into folly; but this I say, that no passion ought to make him choose a sin. For let the sin enter by anger or by desire, it is all one, if the consent be gained. It is an ill sign if a man, though on a sudden, consents to a base action. Thus far every good man is tied, not only to endeavour, but to prevail against his sin.

4. There is one step more; which if it be not actually effected, it must at least be greatly endeavoured, and the event be left to God; and that is, that we strive for so great a dominion over our sins and lust, as that we be not surprised on a sudden. This indeed is a work of time, and it is well if it be ever done; but it must always be endeavoured. But in this particular even good men are sometimes unprosperous. St. Epiphanius and St. Chrysostom grew once into choler, and they passed too far, and lost more than their argument—they lost their reason, and they lost their patience; and Epiphanius wished that St. Chrysostom might not die a bishop; and he, in a peevish exchange, wished that Epiphanius might never return to his bishoprick. When they had forgotten their foolish anger, God remembered it, and said “Amen” to both their cursed speakings. Nay, there is yet a greater example of human frailty: St. Paul and Barnabas were very holy persons; but once, in a heat, they were both to blame; they were

but God was so displeased, even for this little fly in their box of ointment, that their story says, they never saw one another's face again. These earnest emissions and transportations of passion do sometime declare the weakness of good men. But that even here we ought at least to be more than conquerors, appears in this, because God allows it not, and, by punishing such follies, does manifest that he intends that we should get victory over our sudden passions as well as our natural lusts. And so I have done with the third inquiry, in what degree God expects our innocence. And now I briefly come to the last particular, which will make all the rest practicable: I am now to tell you how all this can be effected, and how we shall get free from the power and dominion of our sins.

4. The first great instrument is faith. He that hath faith like a grain of mustard-seed can remove mountains; the mountains of sin shall fall flat at the feet of the faithful man, and shall be removed into the sea, the sea of Christ's blood and penitential waters. "Faith overcometh the world," saith St John; and "walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the lusts of the flesh:" there are two of our enemies gone, the world and the flesh, by faith and the Spirit, by the spirit of faith; and as for the devil, "Put on the shield of faith, and resist the devil, and he will flee from you," saith the Apostle; and the powers of sin seem insuperable to none, but to them that have not faith. We do not believe that God intends we should do what he seems to require of us; or else we think that though God's grace abounds, yet sin must superabound; expressly against the saying of

St. Paul ; or else we think that the evil spirit is stronger than the good Spirit of God. Hear what St. John saith : “ My little children, ye are of God, and have overcome the evil one ; for the Spirit that is in you is greater than that which is in the world.”^a Believest thou this ? If you do, I shall tell you what may be the event of it. When the father of the boy possessed with the devil told his sad story to Christ, he said, “ Master, if thou canst do anything, I pray help me.” Christ answered him, “ If thou canst believe, all things are possible to him that believeth.”^b N. B. And therefore if you do believe this, go to your prayers, and go to your guards, and go to your labour, and try what God will do for you. “ For whatsoever things ye desire when ye pray, believe that ye shall receive them, and ye shall have them.” Now consider ; do not we every day pray, in the divine hymn called *Te Deum*, “ Vouchsafe, O Lord, to keep us this day without sin ?” And in the collect at morning prayer, “ And grant that this day we fall into no sin, neither run into any kind of danger ; but that all our doings may be ordered by thy governance, to do always that which is righteous in thy sight ?” Have you any hope, or any faith, when you say that prayer ? And if you do your duty as you can, do you think the failure will be on God’s part ? Fear not that ; if you can trust in God, and do accordingly, “ though your sins were as scarlet, yet they shall be as white as snow,” and pure as the feet of the Holy Lamb. Only let us forsake all those weak propositions which cut the nerves of faith, and make it im-

^a 1 John, iv. 4.

^b Mark, ix. 23.

possible for us to actuate all our good desires, or come out from the power of sin.

2. He that would be free from the slavery of sin and the necessity of sinning, must always watch. That is the point. But who can watch always? We every good man can watch always: and that we may not be deceived in this, let us know, that the running away from a temptation is a part of our watchfulness; and every good employment is another great part of it; and a laying in provisions of reason and religion beforehand, is yet a third part of this watchfulness; and the conversation of a Christian is a perpetual watchfulness; not a continual thinking of that one or those many things which may endanger us; but it is a continual doing something directly or indirectly against sin. He either prays to God for his Spirit, or relies upon his promises, or receives the Sacrament, or goes to his bishop for counsel and a blessing, or to his priest or religious offices, or places himself at the feet of good men to hear their wise sayings, or calls for the Church's prayers, or does the duty of his calling, or actually resists temptation, or frequently renews his holy purposes, or fortifies himself by vows, or searches into his conscience by a daily examination; so that in the whole he is ever upon his guards. This duty and caution of a Christian is like watching lest a man cut his hand. Wise men do not often cut their fingers, and yet every day they use a knife; and a man's eye is a tender thing, and everything can do it wrong, and everything can put it out; yet because we love our eyes so well, we are amidst of so many dangers, that we are not careful to

prudent natural care, by winking when anything comes against them, and by turning aside when a blow is offered, they are preserved so certainly, that not one man in ten thousand does by a stroke lose one of his eyes in all his lifetime. If we would transplant our natural care to a spiritual caution, we might, by God's grace, be kept from losing our souls, as we are from losing our eyes: and because a perpetual watchfulness is our great defence, and the perpetual presence of God's grace is our great security, and that this grace never leaves us unless we leave it, and the precept of a daily watchfulness is a thing not only so reasonable, but so many ways easy to be performed, we see upon what terms we may be quit of our sins, and more than conquerors over all the enemies and impediments of salvation.

3. If you would be in the state of the liberty of the sons of God, that is, that you may not be servants of sin in any instance, be sure, in the mortifications of sin, willingly or carelessly to leave no remains of it, no nest-egg, no principles of it, no affections to it: if anything remains, it will prove to us as manna to the sons of Israel on the second day, it will "breed worms and stink." Therefore, labour against every part of it, reject every proposition that gives it countenance; pray to God against it all. And what then? Why then, "Ask, and you shall have," said Christ. Nay, say some, it is true you shall be heard, but in part only; for God will leave some remains of sin within us, lest we should become proud by being innocent. So vainly do men argue

salvation, *μετὰ πλείονος τέχνης καὶ παρασκευῆς, καὶ πραγματείας ἀπόλλυνται*; as St. Basil says, they contrive witty arts to undo themselves, being entangled in the periods of ignorant disputations. But as to the thing itself; if by the remains of sin they mean the propensities and natural inclinations to forbidden objects, there is no question but they will remain in us so long as we bear our flesh about us: and surely that is a great argument to make us humble. But these are not the sins which God charges on his people. But if by remains we mean any part of the habit of sin, any affection, any malice or perverseness of the will; then it is a contradiction to say that God leaves in us such remains of sin, lest by innocence we become proud: for how should pride spring in a man's heart, if there be no remains of sin left? And is it not the best, the surest way to cure the pride of our hearts, by taking out every root of bitterness, even the root of pride itself? Will a physician purposely leave the relics of a disease, and pretend he does it to prevent a relapse? And is it not more likely he will relapse, if the sickness be not wholly cured? But besides this, if God leaves any remains of sin in us, what remains are they, and of what sins? Does he leave the remains of pride? If so, that were a strange cure, to leave the remains of pride in us to keep us from being proud. But if not so, but that all the remains of pride be taken away by the grace of God blessing our endeavours; what danger is there of being proud, the remains of which sin are, by the grace of God, wholly taken away? But then, if the pride of the heart be cured, which is

the hardest to be removed, and commonly is done last of all, who can distrust the power of the Spirit of God, or his goodness, or his promises, and say that God does not intend to cleanse his sons and servants from all unrighteousness; and, according to St. Paul's prayer, "keep their bodies and souls and spirits unblameable to the coming of the Lord Jesus?" But, however, let God leave what remains he please; all will be well enough on that side: but let us be careful, as far as we can, that we leave none; lest it be severely imputed to us, and the fire break out and consume us.

4. Let us, without any further question, put this argument to a material issue; let us do all that we can do towards the destruction of the whole body of sin; but let us never say we cannot be quit of our sin, till we have done all that we can do towards the mortification of it. For till that be done, how can any man tell where the fault lies, or whether it can be done or no? If any man can say that he hath done all that he could do, and yet hath failed of his duty; if he can say truly that he hath endured as much as is possible to be endured, that he hath watched always, and never nodded when he could avoid it; that he hath loved as much as he could love, that he hath waited till he can wait no longer; then, indeed, if he says true, we must confess that it is not to be understood. But is there any man in the world that does all that he can do? If there be, that man is blameless; if there be not, then he cannot say but it is his own fault that his sin prevails against him. It is true that no man is free from sin; but it is

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 5. He that would be advanced beyond the
 necessity of sinning, must take great caution
 ing his thoughts and secret desires; for "lust,
 conceived, bringeth forth sin;" but if it be su
 the conception, it comes to nothing: but we
 to destroy the serpent when the egg is hatch
 cockatrice. The thought is *ἀμαρτυρία ἀμαρτία*
 takes notice of it, but lets it alone till the
 strong; and then we complain we cannot help
sinas cogitationem crescere, suffer not your t
 grow up, for they usually come *ἄχρὸν*,
ἀπαραμεινύτως, as St. Basil says*, suddenly,
 and without business; but take heed that
 them not; but if you chance to stumble,

* Ille laudatur. qui ut cœperint statim interficit cœrit

pace ; and if you nod, let it awaken you ; for he only can be a good man, that raises himself up at the first trip, that strangles his sin in the birth : *τοιαῦται τῶν ἀγίων ψυχὰς, πρὶν ἔπεσαν ἀνίστανται*, good men rise up again even before they fall, saith St. Chrysostom. Now, I pray, consider, that when sin is but in the thought, it is easily suppressed ; and if it be stopped there, it can go no further ; and what great mountain of labour is it then to abstain from our sin ? Is not the adultery of the eye easily cured by shutting the eye-lid ? and cannot the thoughts of the heart be turned aside by doing business, by going into company, by reading, or by sleeping ? A man may divert his thoughts by shaking of his head, by thinking anything else, by thinking nothing. *Da mihi Christianum*, saith St. Austin, *et intelligit quod dico*. Every man that loves God understands this, and more than this, to be true. Now, if things be thus, and that we may be safe in that which is supposed to be the hardest of all, we must needs condemn ourselves, and lay our faces in the dust when we give up ourselves to any sin : we cannot be justified by saying we could not help it ; for, as it was decreed by the fathers of the second Arausican Council, *Hoc etiam secundum fidem Catholicam credimus, &c.* This we believe according to the Catholic faith, that have received baptismal grace ; all that are baptized by the aid and co-operation of Christ, must and can (if they will labour faithfully) perform and fulfil those things which belong unto salvation.

6. And, lastly, if sin hath gotten the power of any one

QUEST [BP. TAYLOR]

ken you; for he
self up at the first
th: *τοιαῦτα τῶν*
good men rise up
Chrysostom. Now
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mountain of labour
Is not the adulter
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, saith St. Austin, of
that loves God unde
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y be safe in that whi
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those things which belo
the power of any or

BP. TAYLOR.] OVER THE BODY OF SIN.

If but a little, the battle will be more easy, and victory more certain; but then be sure to do thoroughly, because there is not much to be done. If sin hath prevailed greatly, then indeed you have much to do: therefore, begin betimes, and defer not to work till old age shall make it extremely difficult, death shall make it impossible.

“*Nam quamvis prope te, quamvis temone sub uno
Vertentem sese frustra sectabere canthum,
Cum rota posterior curras, et in axe secundo.*”

If thou beest cast behind; if thou hast neglected the duties of thy vigorous age, thou shalt never overtake that strength; the hinder wheel, though bigger than the former, and measures more ground at every revolution, yet shall never overtake it; and all the second counsels of thy old age, though undertaken with greater resolution, and acted with the strengths of former and need, and pursued with more pertinacious purpose than the early repentances of young men, yet shall never overtake those advantages which you lost when you gave your youth to folly, and the causes of a late repentance.

However, if you find it so hard a thing to get free from the power of one master-sin; if an old adulterer do not dote; if an old drunkard be further from remedy than a young sinner; if covetousness grows with old age; if ambition be still more hydropic, and grows more thirsty for every draught of honour; you may easily resolve that old age, or your last sickness, is not so likely to be prosperous in the mortification of your long prevail-

gion, to die in the arms of the Church, to expire under the conduct of a religious man? When ye are sick, or dying, then nothing but prayers and sad complaints, and the groans of a tremulous repentance, and the faint labours of an almost impossible mortification; then the despised priest is sent for; then he is a good man, and his words are oracles, and religion is truth, and sin is a load, and the sinner is a fool: then we watch for a word of comfort from his mouth, as the fearful prisoner for his fate upon the judge's answer. That which is true then is true now; and therefore, to prevent so intolerable a danger, mortify your sin betime, for else you will hardly mortify it at all. Remember that the snail outwent the eagle and won the goal, because she set out betimes.

To sum up all: every good man is a new creature, and Christianity is not so much a divine institution as a divine frame and temper of spirit; which if we heartily pray for, and endeavour to obtain, we shall find it as hard and as uneasy to sin against God, as now we think it impossible to abstain from our most pleasing sins. For as it is in the spermatic virtue of the heavens, which diffuses itself universally upon all sublunary bodies, and, subtilly insinuating itself into the most dull and unactive element, produces gold and pearls, life and motion, and brisk activities in all things that can receive the influence and heavenly blessing; so it is in the Holy Spirit of God, and the word of God, and the grace of God, which St. John calls the seed of God, it is a law of righteousness, and it is a law of the Spirit of

Church, to expire

When ye are sick
 and sad complaints
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A man is a new creature
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zeal, and fear into love, and sinful habits into
 cence, and passes on from grace to grace, till we
 at the full measures of the stature of Christ, and
 the perfect liberty of the sons of God; so that we
 no more say, "The evil that I would not, that I
 but we shall hate what God hates, and the evil that
 forbidden, we shall not do; not because we are strong
 ourselves, but because Christ is our strength, and
 in us, and Christ's strength shall be perfected in
 weakness, and his grace will be sufficient for us
 he will, of his own good pleasure, work in us, not
 to will, but also to do, *velle et perficere*, saith the Apostle
 to will and to do it thoroughly and fully, being
 tified throughout, to the glory of his holy name
 the eternal salvation of our souls, through Jesus
 our Lord; to whom, with the Father, &c.

FIDES FORMATA ; OR, FAITH WORKING BY LOVE.

[BISHOP TAYLOR.]

JAMES, ii. 24.

You see then, how that by works a man is justified, and not by faith only.

THAT “we are justified by faith,” St. Paul^a tells us ; that we are also “justified by works,” we are told in my text : and both may be true. But that this justification is wrought by faith without works, “to him that worketh not, but believeth” (saith St. Paul). That this is not wrought without works, St. James is as express for his negative as St. Paul was for his affirmative ; and how both these should be true is something harder to unriddle. But *affirmanti incumbit probatio*, he that affirms must prove ; and therefore St. Paul proves his doctrine by the example of Abraham, to whom faith was imputed for righteousness, and therefore not by works. And what can be answered to this ? Nothing but this, that St. James uses the very same argument to prove that our justification is by works also : “For our father

A; OR, FAITH WORKING BY LOVE.

[BISHOP TAYLOR.]

JAMES, ii. 24.

*by works a man is justified,
by faith only.*

by faith," St. Paul^a tells us; and by works," we are told in James. But that this justification is not by works, "to him that works" (St. Paul). That this is not by works, St. James is as express for his affirmative; and he is something harder to rebut *probatio*, he that affirms. St. Paul proves his doctrine, to whom faith was imputed, therefore not by works. Nothing but this same argument to prove works also: "For our father James, when he offered up
Gal. ii. 16.

BP. TAYLOR.] FAITH WORKING BY LOVE.

his son Isaac."^a Now, which of these says true? Certainly both of them; but neither of them have been well understood; insomuch that they have not made divisions of heart among the faithful, but each party relies on faith to the disparagement of good works, and the other makes works to be the main ground of hope and confidence, and consequently to exclude the efficacy of faith: the one makes Christian religion a lazy and unactive institution, and the other a bold presumption on ourselves; while the first tempts us to live like heathens, and the other recalls us to live like Jews; while one says, I am of Paul, and another I am of St. James, and both of them put it in the way of evacuating the institution and the death of Christ, one looking on Christ only as a lawgiver, and the other only as a Saviour. The effects of these are very different, and by all means to be diverted by all the wise considerations of the Spirit.

My purpose is not with subtle arts to reconcile that never disagreed; the two Apostles spake to the same Spirit, and to the same last design, though differing intermedial purposes. But because the end of faith, the design, the definition, the state, the economy of it, is, that all believers should not be "according to the flesh, but according to the Spirit," before I fall to the close handling of the text, I premise some preliminary considerations to prepare the way of holiness, to explicate the differing senses of the Apostles, to understand the question and the design, removing the causes of the vulgar mistakes of

^a James, ii. 9.

men in this article; and then proceed to the main inquiry.

1. That no man may abuse himself or others by mistaking of hard words, spoken in mystery, with allegorical expressions to secret senses, wrapt up in a cloud; such as are faith, and justification, and imputation, and righteousness, and works; be pleased to consider, that the very word faith is, in Scripture, infinitely ambiguous, insomuch that in the Latin concordances of St. Hierom's Bible, published by Robert Stephens, you may see no less than twenty-two several senses and acceptations of the word faith, set down with the several places of Scripture referring to them; to which if out of my own observation I could add no more, yet these are an abundant demonstration, that whatsoever is said of the efficacy of faith for justification, is not to be taken in such a sense as will weaken the necessity and our carefulness of good life, when the word may in so many other senses be taken to verify the affirmation of St. Paul, of justification by faith, so as to reconcile it to the necessity of obedience.

2. As it is in the word faith, so it is in works; for by works is meant sometimes the thing done, sometimes the labour of doing, sometimes the good will; it is sometimes taken for a state of good life, sometimes for the covenant of works; it sometimes means the works of the Law, sometimes the works of the Gospel; sometimes it is taken for a perfect actual unbeginning cha-

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BP. TAYLOR.] FAITH WORKING BY LOVE.

only a disposition of the person to receive the
and the grace of God. Now, since our good works
be but of one kind, (for ours cannot be meritorious
cannot be without sin all our life, they cannot be
as need no repentance,) it is no wonder if we are
justified without works in this sense; for by such
no man living can be justified. And these works
calls the works of the law, and sometimes he calls
our righteousness; and these are the covenant of
But because we came into the world to serve God
God will be obeyed, and Jesus Christ came into
world to save us from sin, and "to redeem to himself
people zealous of good works," and hath to this
revealed to us all his Father's will, and destroyed
works of the devil, and gives us his Holy Spirit
by him we shall be justified in this obedience; that
when works signify a sincere hearty endeavour
all God's commands, out of a belief in Christ,
we endeavour to do so we shall be helped by him
and if we really do so we shall be pardoned for
past, and if we continue to do so we shall receive
crown of glory; therefore, it is no wonder that
said we are to be justified by works; always meaning
not the works of the law, that is, works that are
meritorious, works that can challenge the reward
that need no mercy, no repentance, no humiliation,
no appeal to grace and favour; but always meaning
works that are an obedience to God by the means of
good will, and a sincere endeavour, and the faith of
Lord Jesus.

3. But thus also it is in the word justified

God is justified, and wisdom is justified, and man is justified, and a sinner is not justified as long as he continues in sin; and a sinner is justified when he repents, and when he is pardoned; and an innocent person is justified when he is declared to be no criminal; and a righteous man is justified when he is saved; and a weak Christian is justified when his imperfect services are accepted for the present, and himself thrust forward to more grace; and he that is justified may be justified more; and every man that is justified to one purpose is not so to all; and faith in divers senses gives justification in as many; and therefore, though to every sense of faith there is not always a degree of justification in any, yet when the faith is such that justification is the product and correspondent, as that faith may be imperfect, so the justification is but begun, and either must proceed further, or else, as the faith will die, so the justification will come to nothing. The like observation might be made concerning imputation, and all the words used in this question: but these may suffice till I pass to other particulars.

Not only the word faith, but also charity, and holiness, and religion, signify sometimes particular graces and sometimes they suppose universally, and many conjunctions and unions of graces, as is evident to those that read the Scriptures with observation. When justification is attributed to faith, or holiness, they are to be understood in the latter sense; for, that I may give but one instance, St. Paul speaks of faith as it is a particular grace, and as it is a universal principle.

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BP. TAYLOR.] FAITH WORKING BY LOVE.

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separate it from all possibility of bringing us to heaven.
"Though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing."^a When faith includes charity, it will bring us to heaven; when it is alone, when it is without charity, it will do nothing at all.

5. Neither can this *φαινόμενον* be solved by saying that though faith alone does justify, yet when she does justify, she is not alone, but good works must follow; for this is said to no purpose:

1. Because, if we be justified by faith alone, the work is done, whether charity does follow or no; and therefore that want of charity cannot hurt us.

2. There can be no imaginable cause why charity and obedience should be at all necessary, if the whole work can be done without it.

3. If obedience and charity be not a condition of salvation, then it is not necessary to follow faith; if it be, it does as much as faith, for that is but a part of the condition.

4. If we can be saved without charity and keep the commandments, what need we trouble ourselves with them? if we cannot be saved without them, then faith without them does not justify, or, if it does, it is never the better, for we may be damned for all justification.

The consequent of these observations is this:—

1. That no man should fool himself by disputing about the philosophy of justification, and what c

^a 1 Cor. xiii. 2.

faith hath in it, and whether it be the act of faith that justifies, or the habit? Whether faith as a good work, or faith as an instrument? Whether faith as it is obedience, or faith as it is an access to Christ? Whether as a hand, or as a heart? Whether by its own innate virtue, or by the efficacy of the object? Whether as a sign, or as a thing signified? Whether by introduction, or by perfection? Whether in the first beginnings, or in its last and best productions? Whether by inherent worthiness, or adventitious imputation? *Uberiùs ista, quæso, &c.*, (that I may use the words of Cicero) *hæc enim spinosiora, priùs, ut confiteor, me cogunt quam ut assentiar.*^a These things are knotty and too intricate to do any good; they may amuse us, but never instruct us; and they have already made men careless and confident, disputative and troublesome, proud and uncharitable, but neither wiser nor better. Let us therefore leave these weak ways of troubling ourselves or others, and directly look to the theology of it, the direct duty, the end of faith, and the work of faith, the conditions and the instruments of our salvation, the just foundation of our hopes, how our faith can destroy our sin, and how it can unite us unto God; how by it we can be made partakers of Christ's death, and imitators of his life. For since it is evident by the premises, that this article is not to be determined or relied upon by arguing from words of many significations, we must walk by a clearer light, by such plain sayings and dogmatical propositions of Scripture which evidently teach us our duty, and place our hopes upon

^a Tuscul. 1.

TA; OR, [BP. TAYLOR.]

BP. TAYLOR.] FAITH WORKING BY LOVE.

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her faith as a good work

Whether faith is
access to Christ? Whether
by its object? Whether
by its effect? Whether by its
production? Whether by its
adventitious imputation

I may use the words
confiteor, me cogno

things are knotty and
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have already made me
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neither wiser nor better
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look to the theology
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it can unite us unto God
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our hopes upon

that which cannot deceive us, that is, which requires
obedience, which call upon us to glorify God, and
do good to men, and to keep all God's commandments
with diligence and sincerity.

For since the end of our faith is that we may be
principles and servants of the Lord Jesus, advancing
kingdom here, and partaking of it hereafter; since
are commanded to believe what Christ taught, that
may appear as reasonable as it is necessary to do
he hath commanded; since faith and works are in
one to the other; it is impossible that evangelical
and evangelical works should be opposed one to
other in the effecting of our salvation. So that, as
to no purpose for Christians to dispute whether we
justified by faith or the works of the law, that
covenant of works without the help of faith and
auxiliaries and allowances of mercy on God's part
repentance on ours; because no Christian can justify
to this; so it is perfectly foolish to dispute whether
Christians are to be justified by faith, or the works
the Gospel; for I shall make it appear that they are
both the same thing. No man disparages faith
that says faith does not work righteousness; for he
says so, says indeed it cannot justify; for he says
faith is alone — it is faith only; and the words
text are plain: "You see," saith St. James, "it
is evident to your sense, it is as clear as an
demonstration, "that a man is justified by works
by faith only."

My text hath in it these two propositions,

only a man is not justified. The affirmative : 2. By works also a man is justified.

When I have briefly discoursed of these, I shall only add such practical considerations as shall make the doctrines useful, and tangible, and material.

1. By faith only a man is not justified. By "faith only" here is meant, faith without obedience. For what do we think of those that "detain the faith in unrighteousness?" They have faith, they could not else keep it in so ill a cabinet: but yet the Apostle reckons them amongst the reprobates; for the abominable, the reprobates, and the disobedient are all one: and therefore such persons, for all their faith, shall have no part with faithful Abraham; for none are his children but they that do the works of Abraham. Abraham's faith without Abraham's works is nothing: for of him that "hath faith, and hath not works," St. James asks, "Can faith save him?"^a Meaning that it is impossible. For what think we of those that did miracles in Christ's name, and in his name cast out devils? Had not they faith? Yes, *omnem fidem*, all faith, that is, alone, for they could remove mountains: but yet to many of them Christ will say, "Depart from me, ye workers of iniquity; I know you not." Nay, at last, what think we of the devils themselves? Have not they faith? Yes, and this faith is not *fides miraculorum* neither, but it is an operative faith, it works a little, for it makes them tremble; and it may be that is more than thy faith does to thee: and yet dost thou hope to be saved by a faith that does less to thee than the devil's faith does to him?

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The affirmative: 1

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BP. TAYLOR.] FAITH WORKING BY LOVE.

That is impossible. For "faith without works is
saith St. James. It is *manus arida*, saith St. Au-
is a withered hand; and that which is dead cannot
the life of grace in us, much less obtain eternal li-
us. In short, a man may have faith, and yet do
works of unrighteousness; he may have faith, and
devil: and then what can such a faith do to him
him? It can do him no good in the present consti-
of affairs. St. Paul, from whose mistaken words
noise hath been made in this question, is clear in
particular. "Nothing in Christ Jesus can avail
faith working by charity"; that is, as he exp-
himself once and again, "nothing but a new cre-
nothing but keeping the commandments of God
faith be defined to be any thing that does not c-
our natures, and make us to be a new creation
God; if keeping the commandments be not in the
definition of faith, it avails nothing at all. They
deceive not yourselves; they are the words of
blessed Lord himself: "Not every one that saith
me, Lord, Lord," that is, not every one that con-
fesses Christ, and believes in him, calling Christ Master
Lord, shall be saved; "but he that doth the will
of the Father which is in heaven." These things are so
that they need no commentary; so evident, that
cannot be denied: and to these I add but this
truth; that faith alone without a good life is no fa-

for unless he knows his Master's will, that is, by faith be convinced, and assents to the revelations of the will of God, "he can be beaten but with few stripes;" but he that believes hath no excuse, he is *ἄντοκατάκριτος*, condemned by the sentence of his own heart; and therefore *πολλὰι πληγαί*, many stripes, the greater condemnation, shall be his portion. Natural reason is a light to the conscience, but faith is a greater; and therefore, if it be not followed, it damns deeper than the hell of the infidels and uninstructed. And so I have done with the negative proposition of my text; a man is not justified by faith alone, that is, by faith which hath not in it charity and obedience.

2. If faith alone will not do it, what will? The affirmative part of the text answers: not faith alone; but works must be an ingredient: a man is justified by works; and that is now to be explicated and proved. It will be absolutely to no purpose to say that faith alone does justify, if, when a man is justified, he is never the nearer to be saved. Now, that without obedience no man can go to heaven, is so evident in Holy Scripture, that he that denies it hath no faith. "There is no peace, saith my God, unto the wicked^a;" and "I will not justify a sinner^b," saith God. Unless faith purges away our sins, it can never justify. Let a man believe all the revelations of God; if that belief ends in itself and goes no farther, it is like physic taken to purge the stomach: if it do not work, it is so far from bringing health, that itself is a new sickness. Faith is a great purger and purifier of the soul: "purifying your hearts by faith,"

A ; OR, [BP. TAYLOR.]

's will, that is, by the revelations of the Spirit with few stripes; for, if he is *ἀνταρστήριον* his own heart; and in the end, the greater confidence.

Natural reason is a greater; and if it damns deeper than uninstructed. And the proposition of my text is alone, that is, by faith and obedience.

So it, what will? The answers: not faith alone; but it: a man is justified by faith explicated and proved. I propose to say that faith alone is justified, he is never justified without obedience. It is evident in Holy Scripture that there is no faith. "There is no wicked"; and "I will not."

Unless faith purges away. Let a man believe all the while, and ends in itself and goes on to purge the stomach: from bringing health, that faith is a great purger and purging your hearts by faith.

^a Exod. xiv. 7.

BP. TAYLOR.] FAITH WORKING BY LOVE.

saith the Apostle. It is the best physic in the world for a sinful soul; but if it does not work, it corrupts the stomach; it makes us to rely upon weak propositions and trifling confidences; it is but a dreaming *πολλῆς φαντασίας*, a phantastic dream, and introduces pride or superstition, swelling thoughts and pretensions of the divine favour. But what saith the apostle? "Follow peace with all men, and holiness, with which no man can see God."^a Mark that. If faith does not make you charitable and holy, talk no more of justification by it, for you shall never see the glorious God. Faith indeed is a title and relation to Christ; it is a naming of his name; but what then? Why, saith the apostle, "Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity."

For let any man consider, can the faith of Christ and the hatred of God stand together? Can any man be justified that does not love God? Or can any man love God and sin at the same time? And does not man love sin that falls under its temptation, and obeys the lusts thereof, and delights in the vanity, and makes excuses for it, and returns to it with passion? Can he abide with pleasure? This will not do it; such a man cannot be justified for all his believing. But, therefore, the Apostle shows us a more excellent way: "This is a true saying, and I will that thou affirm constantly, that they who have believed in God be careful to maintain good works."^b The Apostle puts great weight on this doctrine, he arms it with a double prefatory saying is true, and it is to be constantly affirmed.

^a Heb. xii. 14.

^b Titus, iii. 8.

is, it is not only true, but necessary; it is like Pharaoh's dream doubled, because it is bound upon us by the decree of God, and it is unalterably certain, that every believer must do good works, or his believing will signify little; nay, more than so, every man must be careful to do good works; and more yet, he must carefully maintain them, that is, not do them by fits and interrupted returns, but *πρόσκρασθαι*, to be incumbent upon them, to dwell upon them, to maintain good works, that is, to persevere in them. But I am yet but in the general; be pleased to go along with me in these particular considerations.

1. No man's sins are pardoned, but in the same measure in which they are mortified, destroyed, and taken away; so that, if faith does not cure our sinful natures, it never can justify, it never can procure our pardon. And therefore it is, that as soon as ever faith in the Lord Jesus was preached, at the same time also they preached "repentance from dead works:" insomuch that St. Paul reckons it among the fundamentals and first principles of Christianity*; nay, the Baptist preached repentance and amendment of life as a preparation to the faith of Christ. And, I pray, consider; can there be any forgiveness of sins without repentance? But if an Apostle should preach forgiveness to all that believe, and this belief did not also mean that they should repent and forsake their sin, the sermons of the Apostle would make Christianity nothing else but the sanctuary of Romulus, a device to get together all the wicked people of the world. and to make them

happy without any change of manners. Christ came to other purposes; he came to “sanctify us and to cleanse us by his word.”^a The word of faith was not for itself, but was a design of holiness, and the very “grace of God did appear,” for this end; that “teaching us to deny all ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live holily, justly, and soberly in this present world^b :” he came to gather a people together; not like David’s army, when Saul pursued him, but the armies of the Lord, “a faithful people, a chosen generation.” And what is that? The Spirit of God adds, “a people zealous of good works.” Now as Christ proved his power to forgive sins by curing the poor man’s palsy, because a man is never pardoned but when the punishment is removed; so the great act of justification of a sinner, the pardoning of his sins, is then only effected, when the spiritual evil is taken away: that is the best indication of a real and an eternal pardon, when God takes away the hardness of the heart, the love of sin, the accursed habit, the evil inclination, “the sin that doth so easily beset us:” and when that is gone, what remains within us that God can hate? Nothing stays behind but God’s creation, the work of his own hands, the issues of his Holy Spirit. The faith of a Christian is *πάσης ἀμαρτίας ἀναιρετική*, it destroys the whole body of sin: and to suppose that Christ pardons a sinner, whom he doth not also purge and rescue from the dominion of sin, is to affirm that he justifies the wicked, that he “calls good evil, and evil good,” that he delights in a wicked person, that he makes a wicked

^a 1 John, iii. 8.^b Eph. v. 25. Tit. ii. 11.

man all one with himself; that he makes the members of an harlot at the same time also the members of Christ: but all this is impossible, and therefore ought not to be pretended to by any Christian. Severe are those words of our blessed Saviour, "Every plant in me that beareth not fruit he taketh away." * Faith ingrafts us into Christ; by faith we are inserted into the vine; but the plant that is ingrafted, must also be parturient and fruitful, or else it shall be quite cut off from the root, and thrown into the everlasting burning: and this is the full and plain meaning of those words so often used in Scripture for the magnification of faith, "The just shall live by faith:" no man shall live by faith but the just man; he, indeed, is justified by faith, but no man else; the unjust and the unrighteous man hath no portion in this matter. That is the first great consideration in this affair; no man is justified in the least sense of justification, that is, when it means nothing but the pardon of sins, but when his sin is mortified and destroyed.

2. No man is actually justified, but he that is in some measure sanctified. For the understanding and clearing of which proposition we must know, that justification, when it is attributed to any cause, does not always signify justification actual. Thus, when it is said in Scripture, "We are justified by the death of Christ," it is but the same thing as to say, "Christ died for us;"

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our justification ;” that is, by his death and resurrection he hath obtained this power, and effectual mercy, that if we believe him and obey, we are justified and made capable of all the blessings of the kingdom. But that this is no more but a dispensation of pardon, of grace, and of salvation, appears by God’s requiring obedience as a condition of parts ; but by his expressly attributing the righteousness to us at such times and in such circumstances, it is certain and evident that we could not be justified ; for so saith the Scripture : “ We were enemies, were reconciled to God by the death of his Son ; and while we were yet sinners, he died for us :” that is, then was our justification wrought on God’s part ; that is, then he interposed his mercy to us, then he resolved to show us grace, to give us promises, and laws, and conditions, and an infallible economy of salvation ; that is, when faith lays hold on this grace, and this justification becomes actual, then we are to do the other part of it ; that is, what is required on our parts ; that is, to work, made it potential by the death and resurrection of Christ, so we, laying hold on these things by faith, are to work the righteousness of faith, that is, to do what is required on our parts ; we, I say, are to make it actual : and for this very reason it is that the apostle puts more emphasis upon the resurrection than upon his death. “ Who is he that counts on his death ? It is Christ that died, yea rather, that is risen again. And “ Christ was both delivered for our sins, and risen again for our justification ;” implying

makes the members of the church, the members of the kingdom, and therefore ought to be Christian. Severe are the trials, “ Every plant that is not sown in the Word of God, shall be cut away.” Faith is inserted into the heart, must also be purified, must be quite cut off from all unbelief, everlastingly burning : the fruit of those works, the magnification of God : “ no man shall live by his own deeds, is justified by faith, and the unrighteousness of the law. That is the first principle, that no man is justified by his own works, that is, when it means, but when his sin is forgiven, but he that is in some standing and clearing, now, that justification, does not always, when it is said in the death of Christ, “ Christ died for us ;” we might indeed be lost measures and dis- tain for

as it is in the principal, so it is in the correspondent: our sins, indeed, are potentially pardoned, when they are marked out for death and crucifixion; when by resolving and fighting against sin we die to sin daily, and are so made conformable to his death; but we must partake of Christ's resurrection before this justification can be actual: when we are "dead to sin, and are risen again unto righteousness," then, as we are partakers of his death," so we shall "be partakers of his resurrection," saith St. Paul; that is, then we are truly, effectually, and indeed justified; till then we are not.

"He that loveth gold shall not be justified^a," saith the wise Ben-Sirach; he that is covetous, let his faith be what it will, shall not be accounted righteous before God, because he is not so in himself, and he is not so in Christ, for he is not in Christ at all; he hath no righteousness in himself, and he hath none in Christ; for if we be in Christ, or "if Christ be in us, the body is dead by reason of sin, and the spirit is life because of righteousness^b:" for this is the τὸ πιστὸν, that faithful thing; that is, the faithfulness is manifested; the *emun*, from whence comes *emunah*, which is the Hebrew word for faith, from whence *amen* is derived. *Fiat quod dictum est hinc inde; hoc fidum est,*" when God and we both say amen to our promises and undertakings. *Fac fidelis sis fideli, cave fidem fluxam geras^c,* said he in the comedy. God

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^a Rom. viii. 29.

conditions of obedience, and he that does not believe them as Christ made them, believes them not at all. "In well-doing commit yourselves to God, as unto a faithful Creator." There is no committing ourselves to God without well-doing, "For God will render to every man according to his deeds: to them that obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath; but to them who by patient continuance in well-doing seek for glory and honour and immortality, to them eternal life."* So that if faith apprehends any other promises, it is illusion, and not faith. God gave us none such, Christ purchased none such for us; search the Bible over, and you shall find none such. But if faith lays hold on these promises that are, and as they are, then it becomes an article of our faith, that without obedience and a sincere endeavour to keep God's commandments, no man living can be justified: and therefore let us take heed, when we magnify the free grace of God, we do not exclude the conditions which this free grace hath set upon us. Christ freely died for us, God pardons us freely in our first access to him; we could never deserve pardon, because when we need pardon we are enemies, and have no good thing in us; and he freely gives us of his Spirit, and freely he enables us to obey him, and for our little imperfect services, he freely and bountifully will give us eternal life. Here is free grace all the way, and he overvalues his pitiful services, who thinks that he deserves heaven by them; and that if he *by tolerably*, eternal life is not a free gift to *deserved reward*.

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works, and are not justified by faith; that had been irreconcilable with St. Paul: but we are so justified by works, that it is not by faith alone; it is faith and works together: that is, it is by the *ὑπακοή πίστεως* the obedience of faith, by the works of faith, by the fruits of faith, by righteousness evangelical, by the conditions of the Gospel, and the measures of Christ. I have many things to say in this particular; but, because I have but a little time left to say them in, I will sum up all up in this proposition: that in the question of justification and salvation, faith and good works are not of a distinction, but members of one entire system. Faith and good works together, work the righteousness of God; that is, that I may speak plainly, just as faith contains in it obedience: and if this be made plain, then the two Apostles are reconciled to each other, both of them to the necessity, the indispensable necessity, of a good life.

Now, that justifying and saving faith must be by something more than an act of understanding appears not only in this, that St. Peter reckons it distinctly from knowledge, as he does from patience, strength, or brotherly kindness, saying, "Add to faith virtue, to virtue knowledge"; but in this, because an error in life, and whatsoever is against the law, is against faith; and therefore St. Paul reckons lawless and the disobedient, murderers of parents, stealing, and such things, to be against sound doctrine. For the doctrine of faith is called *ἡ κατ' εὐσέβειαν καὶ σκαλία*, the doctrine that is according to piety and

when St. Paul prays against ungodly men for this reason, οὐ γὰρ πάντων ἡ πίστις, not faith^a:” meaning that wicked men are unbelievers, and particularly he affirms that he does not provide for his own, that “*not faith.*”^b Now, from hence it follows that wickedness, because all wickedness is infidelity from the faith. *Ille erit, ille nocuerat hostem*; he that sins against God is contrary to the faith of Jesus Christ; and thus to ourselves if we place faith in the ungodly is not that, and it does not well the *συνειδήσει*, saith the Apostle, the mystery of ungodliness dwells nowhere, it dwells nowhere, but in “*the*”

For I consider that since all moral actions are defined by their operation, we can best define faith by seeing what it does. To wit, as St. Paul^c: “By faith Abel offered a more excellent sacrifice than Cain; by faith Noah saved his ark; by faith Abraham left his country for his son; by faith Moses chose to suffer affliction with the people of God, rather than to receive the riches of Egypt.” In short, the chief operation of faith subdued kingdoms, and wrought righteousness. To work righteousness is as much the operation of faith as believing is. So that now we may make an end of this great inquiry, whether we are justified by faith, or by works, for he that is justified by you take it alone, faith does not justify in the aggregate sense, as it is used in

works, and are not justified by faith; that had been irreconcilable with St. Paul: but we are so justified by works, that it is not by faith alone; it is faith and works together: that is, it is by the *ὑπακοή πίστεως*, by the obedience of faith, by the works of faith, by the law of faith, by righteousness evangelical, by the conditions of the Gospel, and the measures of Christ. I have many things to say in this particular; but, because I have but a little time left to say them in, I will sum it all up in this proposition: that in the question of justification and salvation, faith and good works are no part of a distinction, but members of one entire body. Faith and good works together, work the righteousness of God; that is, that I may speak plainly, justifying faith contains in it obedience: and if this be made good, then the two Apostles are reconciled to each other, and both of them to the necessity, the indispensable necessity, of a good life.

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^a 2 Pet. i. 5.

when St. Paul prays against ungodly men, he adds this reason, *οὐ γὰρ πάντων ἡ πίστις*, “for all men have not faith^a :” meaning that wicked men are infidels and unbelievers, and particularly he affirms of him that does not provide for his own, that “he hath denied the faith.”^b Now, from hence it follows that faith is godliness, because all wickedness is infidelity, it is an apostasy from the faith. *Ille erit, ille nocens qui me tibi fecerat hostem* ; he that sins against God, he is the enemy to the faith of Jesus Christ ; and therefore we deceive ourselves if we place faith in the understanding only : it is not that, and it does not well there, but *ἐν καθαρῇ συνειδήσει*, saith the Apostle, the mystery of faith is kept nowhere, it dwells nowhere, but in “a pure conscience.”

For I consider that since all moral habits are best defined by their operation, we can best understand what faith is by seeing what it does. To this purpose hear St. Paul^c : “By faith Abel offered up to God a more excellent sacrifice than Cain ; by faith Noah made an ark ; by faith Abraham left his country and offered up his son ; by faith Moses chose to suffer affliction, and accounted the reproach of Christ greater than all the riches of Egypt.” In short, the children of God “by faith subdued kingdoms, and wrought righteousness.” To work righteousness is as much the duty and work of faith as believing is. So that now we may quickly make an end of this great inquiry, whether a man is justified by faith, or by works, for he is so by both : if you take it alone, faith does not justify ; but take it in the aggregate sense, as it is used in the question of

justification by St. Paul, and then faith does not only justify, but it sanctifies too; and then you need to inquire no further: obedience is a part of the definition of faith, as much as it is of charity. “This is love,” saith St. John, “that we keep his commandments;” and the very same is affirmed of faith, too, by Ben-Sirach, “He that believeth the Lord, will keep his commandments.” ^a

I have now done with all the propositions expressed and implied in the text. Give me leave to make some practical considerations, and so I shall dismiss you from this attention.

The rise I take from the words of St. Epiphanius ^b, speaking in praise of the apostolical and purest ages of the Church; there was at first no distinction of sects and opinions in the Church: she knew no difference of men, but good and bad; there was no separation made, but what was made by piety or impiety; or, says he, which is all one, by fidelity and infidelity: *πίστις μὲν ἐπέχουσα τοῦ χριστιανισμοῦ εἰκόνα· ἀπιστία δὲ ἐπέχουσα ἀσεβείας τὸν χαρακτῆρα καὶ παρανομίας*. For faith hath in it the image of godliness engraven, and infidelity hath the character of wickedness and prevarication. A man was not then esteemed a saint for disobeying his bishop or an apostle, nor for misunderstanding the hard sayings of St. Paul about predestination; to kick against the laudable customs of the Church was not then accounted a note of the godly party; and to despise government was but an ill mark and weak indication of being a good Christian. The kingdom of God did

^a Eccclus. xxxii. 24.

^b Panar. lib. i. edit. Basil. p. 8. l. 46.

not then consist in words, but in power, the power of godliness, though now we are fallen into another method; we have turned all religion into faith, and our faith is nothing but the productions of interest or disputing; it is adhering to a party, and a wrangling against all the world beside; and when it is asked of what religion he is of, we understand the meaning to be, what faction does he follow, what are the articles of his sect, not what is the manner of his life: and if men be zealous for their party and that interest, then they are precious men, though otherwise they be covetous as the grave, factious as Dathan, schismatical as Corah, or proud as the fallen angels. Alas! these things will but deceive us; the faith of a Christian cannot consist in strifes about words, and perverse disputings of men: these things the Apostle calls "profane and vain babblings;" and mark what he says of them: these things "will increase ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀσεβείας πλεῖον ἀσέβειαν." They are in themselves ungodliness, and will produce more; they will "increase unto more ungodliness:" but the faith of a Christian had other measures; that was faith then, which made men faithful to their vows in baptism. The faith of a Christian was the best security in contracts, and a Christian's word was as good as his bond, because he was faithful that promised; and a Christian would rather die than break his word, and was always true to his trust; he was faithful to his friend, and loved as Jonathan did David. This was the Christian faith then; their religion was to hurt no man and to do good to every man: and so it ought to

be. “ True religion is, to visit the fatherless and widow, and to keep ourselves unspotted of the world.” That is a good religion that is “ pure and undefiled.” So St. James. And St. Chrysostom defines *εὐσέβειαν*, true religion, to be *πίστιν καθαρὰν καὶ ὀρθὸν βίον*, a pure faith and a godly life; for they make up the whole mystery of godliness: and no man could then pretend to faith, but he that did do valiantly, and suffer patiently, and resist the devil, and overcome the world. These things are as properly the actions of faith, as alms is of charity; and therefore they must enter into the moral definition of it. And this was truly understood by Salvian, that wise and godly priest of Massilia. “ What is faith, and what is believing,” saith he, “ *hominem fideliter Christo credere est fidelem Deo esse, h. e. fideliter Dei mandata servare.*” That man does faithfully believe in Christ, who is faithful unto God, who faithfully keeps God’s commandments; and therefore let us measure our faith here by our faithfulness to God, and by our diligence to do our Master’s commandments; for *Christianorum omnis religio sine scelere et maculâ vivere*, said Lactantius^a, the whole religion of a Christian is to live unblameably; that is, in all holiness and purity of conversation.

2. When our faith is spoken of as the great instrument of justification and salvation, take Abraham’s faith as your best pattern, and that will end the dispute, because that he was justified by faith when his faith was mighty in effect; when he trusted in God, when he believed the promises, when he expected a resur-

^a Instit. l. 5. c. 9.

rection of the dead, when he was strong in faith, when he gave glory to God, when against hope he believed in hope ; and when all this passed into an act of a most glorious obedience, even denying his greatest desires, contradicting his most passionate affections, offering to God the best thing he had, and exposing to death his beloved Isaac, his laughters, all his joy, at the command of God. “ By this faith he was justified,” saith St. Paul ; “ by these works he was justified,” saith St. James ; that is, by this faith working this obedience. And then all the difficulty is over : only remember this, your faith is weak, and will do but little for you, if it be not stronger than all your secular desires and all your peevish angers. Thus we find, in the holy Gospels, this conjunction declared necessary : “ Whatsoever things ye desire, when ye pray, believe that ye receive them, and ye shall have them.”^a Here is as glorious an event promised to faith as can be expressed : faith shall obtain anything of God. True ; but it is not faith alone, but faith in prayer, faith praying, not faith simply believing. So St. James, “ the prayer of faith shall save the sick ;” but adds, it must be “ the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man.” So that faith shall prevail ; but there must be prayer in faith, and fervour in prayer, and devotion in fervour, and righteousness in devotion ; and then impute the effect to faith if you please, provided that it be declared that effect cannot be wrought by faith unless it be so qualified. But Christ adds one thing more : “ When ye stand praying, forgive ; but if ye will not forgive, neither will your

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Father forgive you." So that it will be to no purpose to say a man is justified by faith, unless you add charity with it; for without the charity of forgiveness there can be no pardon: and then justification is a word, when it effects nothing.

3. Let every one take heed, that, by an impious adhering to and relying upon a mistaken faith, we do not really make a shipwreck of a right faith. Irenaeus and Alexander lost their faith by putting a good conscience; and what matter is it of what religion or faith a man be, if he be a villain and a man of no truth and of no trust, a lover of the world and not a lover of God? But I pray consider, can a man have faith that denies God? That is not possible, and cannot a man as well deny God by an evil action as by an heretical proposition? Cannot a man deny God by works as much as by words? Hear what the Apostle says: "They profess that they know God, but in works they deny him, being abominable and disobedient, and unto every good work reprobate."^a Disobedience is a denying God. *Nolumus hunc regnare* is as plain a renouncing of Christ, as *nolumus huic credere*. It is to no purpose to say we believe in Christ and have faith, unless Christ reign in our hearts by faith.

4. From these premises, we may see but too evidently, that though a great part of mankind pretend to be saved by faith, yet they know not what it is, or wilfully mistake it, and place their hopes upon sand.

^a Tit. i. 16.

the more unstable water. Believing is the least thing in a justifying faith; for faith is a conjugation of many ingredients, and faith is a covenant, and faith is a law, and faith is obedience, and faith is a work, and, indeed, it is a sincere cleaving to and closing with the terms of the Gospel in every instance, in every particular. Alas! the niceties of a spruce understanding, and the curious nothings of useless speculation, and all the opinions of men that make the divisions of heart, and do nothing else, cannot bring us one drop of comfort in the day of tribulation, and therefore are no parts of the strength of faith: nay, when a man begins truly to fear God, and is in the agonies of mortification, all these new nothings and curiosities will lie neglected by, as baubles do by children when they are deadly sick: but that only is faith that makes us to love God, to do his will, to suffer his impositions, to trust his promises, to see through a cloud, to overcome the world, to resist the devil, to stand in the day of trial, and to be comforted in all our sorrows. "This is that precious faith so mainly necessary to be insisted on, that by it we may be sons of the free woman, *liberi à vitiis ac ritibus*, that the true Isaac may be in us, which is Christ according to the Spirit, the wisdom and power of God, a divine vigour and life, whereby we are enabled with joy and cheerfulness to walk in the way of God." By this you may try your faith, if you please, and make an end of this question: Do you believe in the Lord Jesus, yea or no? God forbid else; but if your faith be good, it will abide the trial. There are but three

believing the words of God, confidence in his goodness, and keeping his commandments.

For the first, it is evident that every man pretends to it: if he calls himself Christian, he believes all that is in the canon of the Scriptures; and if he did not, he were indeed no Christian. But now consider, what think we of this proposition? "All shall be damned who believe not the truth, but have pleasure in unrighteousness."^a Does not every man believe this? Is it possible they can believe there is any such thing as unrighteousness in the world, or any such thing as damnation, and yet commit that which the Scriptures call unrighteousness, and which all laws and all good men say is so? Consider how many unrighteous men there are in the world, and yet how few of them think they shall be damned. I know not how it comes to pass, but men go upon strange principles, and they have made Christianity to be a very odd institution, if it had not better measures than they are pleased to afford it. There are two great roots of all evil, covetousness and pride, and they have infected the greatest parts of mankind, and yet no man thinks himself to be either covetous or proud: and therefore, whatever you discourse against these sins, it never hits any man, but, like Jonathan's arrows to David, they fall short or they fly beyond. Salvian^b complained of it in his time: *Hoc ad crimina nostra addimus, ut cum in omnibus rei simus, etiam bonos nos et sanctos esse credamus*; this we add unto our crimes, we are the vilest persons in the world, and yet we think ourselves to be good people; and when

^a 2 Thes. ii. 12.

^b Lib. iii.

we die, make no question but we shall go to heaven. There is no cause of this, but because we have not so much faith as believing comes to, and yet most men will pretend not only to believe, but to love Christ all this while; and how do they prove this? Truly they hate the memory of Judas, and curse the Jews that crucified Christ, and think Pilate a very miserable man, and that all the Turks are damned; and to be called Caiaphas is a word of reproach; and indeed there are many who do not much more for Christ than this comes to; things to as little purpose, and of as little signification. But so the Jews did hate the memory of Corah, as we do of Caiaphas, and they builded the sepulchres of the prophets: and we also are angry at them that killed the apostles and the martyrs; but in the meantime we neither love Christ nor his saints; for we neither obey him nor imitate them: and yet we should think ourselves highly injured, if one should call us infidels and haters of Christ. But I pray consider; what is hating of any man, but designing and doing him all the injury and spite we can? Does not he hate Christ that dishonours him, that makes Christ's members the members of an harlot? That doth not feed and clothe these members? If the Jews did hate Christ when they crucified him, then so does a Christian too when he crucifies him again. Let us not deceive ourselves; a Christian may be damned as well as a Turk, and Christians may with as much malice crucify Christ as the Jews did; and so does every man that sins wilfully; he spills the blood of Christ, making it to be spent in

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 and Jonathan is true? Have we so much faith
 think it possible that two rivals of a crown should be
 dearly? Can any man believe this, and not be infi-
 ashamed to see Christians (almost all Christians)
 irreconcilably angry, and ready to pull their hearts
 heart out, when he offers to take our land or
 from us? Why do almost all men that go to
 right hate one another's persons? Why can
 with patience hear their titles questioned?
 Christianity be so excellent a religion, why are
 many Christians so very wicked? Certainly
 not so much as believe the propositions and
 of their own religion. For the body of Christ
 universally wicked, that it would be a great
 to see Christians generally live according to
 profession, than it was at first from infidelity to
 turn believers. The conversion from Christ-
 tian, from Christian in title to Christian in
 would be a greater miracle than it was
 were converted from Heathen and Jew.
 What is the matter? Is not "repentance
 works" reckoned by St. Paul in Heb. vi.
 fundamental points of Christian religion?

yet both are necessary; and therefore, if we were not without faith, we should be without neither. Is not repentance a forsaking all sin, and an entire returning unto God? Who can deny this? And is it not plainly said in Scripture, "Unless ye repent, ye shall all perish?" But show me the man that believes these things heartily; that is, show me a true penitent; he only believes the doctrines of repentance.

If I had time, I should examine your faith by your confidence in God, and by your obedience. But if we fall in the mere believing, it is not likely we should do better in the other. But because all the promises of God are conditional, and there can be no confidence in the particular without a promise or revelation, it is not possible that any man that does not live well should reasonably put his trust in God. To live a wicked life, and then to be confident that in the day of our death God will give us pardon, is not faith, but a direct want of faith. If we did believe the promises upon their proper conditions, or believe that God's commandments were righteous and true, or that the threatenings were as really intended as they are terribly spoken, we should not dare to live at the rate we do. But "wicked men have not faith," saith St. Paul; and then the wonder ceases.

But there are such palpable contradictions between men's practices and the fundamentals of our faith, that it was a material consideration of our blessed Saviour, "When the Son of Man comes, shall he find faith upon earth?" — meaning, it should be very hard and scant:

P. TAYLOR

BP. TAYLOR.] FAITH WORKING BY LOVE.

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fidelem," saith Solomon, "but a faithful man who find?" Some men are very good when they afflicted.

"Hanc sibi virtutem fractâ facit uxor et anus,
Et tristis nullo qui tepet igne focus;
Et teges et cimex, et nudi sponda grabati,
Et brevis atque eadem nocte dieque toga."

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When the gown of the day is the mantle of the and cannot at the same time cover the head, and the feet warm; when they have but one broke and no spoon, then they are humble and modest they can suffer an injury, and bear contempt; but them riches, and they grow insolent: fear and nimity did their first work, and an opportunity undoes it all. *Bonum militem perdidisti, Im- pimum creasti*, said Galba, "you have spoiled a trooper, when you made me a bad commander." They can never serve God but when they are poor: they lose their fortune, they lose their faith, they lose their charity: *Non rata fides ubi jam mel- ius*; if they become poor, they become liars, receivers of their trust, envious and greedy, uncharitable: that is, one way or another, if they love the world, and by all that is in it, cannot overcome it.

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h, that
aviour,
h upon
scant:

Cast up therefore your reckonings, what is, what will be required of you. Do not think you can be justified by your works, greater than all your praying, not so much as the

self when you are proud: but he that is so, and knows it not (and that is the case of most men), hath no faith, and neither knows God, nor knows himself.

To conclude. He that hath true justifying faith, believes the power of God to be above the powers of nature, the goodness of God above the merit and disposition of our persons, the bounty of God above the excellency of our works, the truth of God above the contradiction of our weak arguings and fears, the love of God above our cold experience and ineffectual reason, and the necessities of doing good works above the faint excuses and ignorant pretences of disputing sinners: but want of faith makes us so generally wicked as we are, so often running to despair; so often baffled in our resolutions of a good life: but he whose faith makes him more than conqueror over these difficulties, to him Isaac shall be born even in his old age; the life of God shall be perfectly wrought in him, and by this faith, so operative, so strong, so lasting, so obedient, he shall be justified, and he shall be saved.

P. TAYLOR

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THE MARRIAGE RING:

02

THE MYSTERIOUSNESS AND DUTIES OF MA

[BISHOP TAYLOR]

EPHES. v. 32, 33.

*This is a great mystery, but I speak concerning
and the Church. Nevertheless, let every one
particular so love his wife even as himself.
The church will save that she reverence her husband.*

THE first blessing God gave to man was that society was a marriage, and that marriage confederate by God himself, and hallowed by God himself; and at the same time, and for very many ages, not only by the instinct of nature, but by the superadded forwardness (God himself inspiring),* the world was most desirous of children, and impatient of barrenness, accounting single life a curse, and a childless person hated by God. The w

^a "Quemlibet hominem cui non est uxor, minimè et etiam in scriptura dicatur, Masculum et feminam cre nomen eorum Adam seu hominem. R. Eliezer dixit i

and empty, and able to provide for a more numerous posterity than it had.

Ἐξεῖς, Νουμηνίε, τέκνα,
Χάλκον ἔχων· πτωχὸς δ' οὐδὲ τὰ τέκνα φιλεῖ.

You that are rich, Numenius, you may multiply your family; poor men are not so fond of children: but when a family could drive their herds, and set their children upon camels, and lead them till they saw a fat soil watered with rivers, and there sit down without paying rent, they thought of nothing but to have great families, that their own relations might swell up to a patriarchate, and their children be enough to possess all the regions that they saw, and their grand-children become princes, and themselves build cities and call them by the name of a child, and become the fountain of a nation. This was the consequence of the first blessing, "Increase and multiply." The next blessing was the promise of the Messiah; and that also increased in men and women a wonderful desire of marriage: for as soon as God had chosen the family of Abraham to be the blessed line, from whence the world's Redeemer should descend, according to the flesh, every of his daughters hoped to have the honour to be his mother, or his grandmother, or something of his kindred: and to be "childless in Israel," was a sorrow to the Hebrew women great as the slavery of Egypt, or their dishonours in the land of their captivity.*

But when the Messiah was come, and the doctrine

* Christiani et apud Athenas, τὰς τοῦ ἀγαίου καὶ ὁψιγαίου δικὰς refert Julius D. " . . . παρὰ ἀνδρών. Idem etiam I. . . .

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and the doctrine

αι δὲ ψευδολογία διὰ τὴν
acedæmonizet et Romæ.

was published, and his ministers but few, and
ples were to suffer persecution, and to be of a
tled dwelling, and the nation of the Jews, in th
and society of which the Church especially di
were to be scattered and broken all in pie
fierce calamities, and the world was apt to
niate and suspect and dishonour Christian
pretences and unreasonable jealousies, and th
these purposes the state of marriage broug
inconveniences; it pleased God, in this new
to inspire into the hearts of his servants a di
and strong desires to live a single life, lest
of marriage should in that conjunction of t
come an accidental impediment to the disse
of the Gospel, which called men from a cor
in their domestic charges, to travel, and fi
poverty, and difficulty, and martyrdom. Upon
cessity, the Apostles and apostolical men
doctrines, delaring the advantages of single li
any commandment of the Lord, but by the
prudence, διὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἀνάγκην, for th
and then incumbent necessities, and in ord
advantages which did accrue to the public
and private piety. "There are some," said c
Lord, who make themselves "eunuchs for th
of heaven^a," that is, for the advantages a
nistry of the Gospel, *non ad vitæ bonæ meri*
Augustin in the like case; not that it is a be

^a "Etiam Judæi, qui præceptum esse viris *καὶ δὲ ψευδολογία*
concedunt, tamen dispensatum esse cum iis qui assi
care volunt, aliàs etiam immunibus ab acriori carni
15. Halach. Ishoth.

of God in itself, but that it is useful to the first circumstances of the Gospel and the infancy of the kingdom, because the unmarried person does *μεριμνᾷν τὰ τοῦ κυρίου*, is apt to spiritual and ecclesiastical improvements^b: first, *ἅγιος*, and then, *ἁγιαζόμενος*, holy in his own person, and then sanctified to public ministries; and it was also of ease to the Christians themselves, because, as then it was, when they were to flee, and to flee for aught they knew, in winter, and they were persecuted to the four winds of heaven; and the nurses and the women with child were to suffer a heavier load of sorrow because of the imminent persecutions; and, above all, because of the great fatality of ruin upon the whole nation of the Jews, well it might be said by St. Paul, *θλίψιν τῇ σαρκὶ ἔξουσιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι*, “Such shall have trouble in the flesh,” that is, they that are married shall; and so at that time they had: and therefore it was an act of charity to the Christians to give that counsel, *ἐγὼ δὲ ὑμῖν φείδομαι*, “I do this to spare you,” and *θέλω ὑμᾶς ἀμερίμνους εἶναι*: for when the case was altered, and that storm was over, and the first necessities of the Gospel served, and “the sound was gone out into all nations;” in very many persons it was wholly changed, and not the married but the unmarried had *θλίψιν ἐν σαρκὶ*, trouble in the flesh; and the state of marriage returned to its first blessing, *et non erat bonum homini*

^a Οὐ ψέγω δὲ τοὺς λοιποὺς μακαρίους, ὅτι γάμοις προσωμίλησαν ὡς ἐμνήσθην ἄρτι. εὐχομαι γὰρ ἕξις θεοῦ εὐρηθεὶς πρὸς τοῖς ἰχνεσιν αὐτῶν εὐρηθῆναι ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ. ὡς Ἀβραάμ. καὶ Ἰσαὰκ. καὶ Ἰακώβ. ὡς Ἰώσηφ. καὶ

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*ὡς προσεμίλησαν ἐν τῇ
 τοῖς ἔχουσιν αὐτῶν εἶπε*

esse solitarium, and it was not good for man to
 alone.

But, in this first interval, the public necessity
 the private zeal mingling together did sometimes c
 act their love of single life, even to the disparager
 of marriage, and to the scandal of religion; w
 was increased by the occasion of some pious per
 renouncing their contract of marriage, not cons
 mate, with believers. For when Flavia Domitilla, b
 converted by Nereus and Achilleus the eun
 refused to marry Aurelianus, to whom she was
 tracted; if there were not some little envy an
 sharp hostility in the eunuchs to a married stat
 Aurelianus thought himself an injured person
 caused St. Clemens who veiled her and his spous
 to die in the quarrel. St. Thecla, being con
 by St. Paul, grew so in love with virginity, th
 leaped back from the marriage of Tamyris,
 she was lately engaged. St. Iphigenia denied to
 King Hirtacus, and it is said to be done
 advice of St. Matthew. And Susanna the r
 Diocletian refused the love of Maximianus t
 peror; and these all had been betrothed;
 did St. Agnes, and St. Felicula, and divers
 then and afterwards; insomuch, that it was
 among the Gentiles, that the Christians did
 hate all that were not of their persuasion, t
 enemies of the chaste laws of marriage; and
 some that were called Christians were so; "f
 to marry, and commanding to abstain from

to state the question right, and to do honour to the holy rite of marriage, and to snatch the mystery from the hands of zeal and folly, and to place it in Christ's right hand, that all its beauties might appear, and a present convenience might not bring in a false doctrine, and a perpetual sin, and an intolerable mischief. The Apostle, therefore, who himself had been a married man ^a, but was now a widower, does explicate the mysteriousness of it, and describes its honours, and adorns it with rules and provisions of religion; that, as it begins with honour, so it may proceed with piety, and end with glory.

For although single life hath in it privacy and simplicity of affairs, such solitariness and sorrow, such leisure and unactive circumstances of living, that there are more spaces for religion, if men would use them to these purposes; and because it may have in it much religion and prayers, and must have in it a perfect mortification of our strongest appetites, it is therefore a state of great excellency; yet, concerning the state of marriage, we are taught from Scripture and the sayings of wise men, great things and honourable. "Marriage is honourable in all men:" so is not single life; for in some it is a snare and a *πύρωσις*, "a trouble in the flesh," a prison of unruly desires which is attempted daily to be broken. Celibate or single life is never commanded; but in some cases marriage is; and he

^a Ὡς Πέτρον καὶ Παύλου καὶ τῶν Ἀποστόλων τῶν γάμοις προσομιλησάντων· οὐχ ὑπὸ προθυμίας τῆς περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐννοίας ἑαυτῶν τοῦ γένους ἔσχον ἐκείνους. Ignatius Epistol. ad Philadelph. Et Clemens

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ἢ τῶν γάμων προσημασμένων
ἀλλ' ἐκ' ἐννοίας ταύτης τοῦ
d Philadelph. Et Clemens
sed tamen eam non circum-
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that burns, sins often if he marries not. He
contain must marry; and he that can contain
to a single life, but may marry and not sin.
was ordained by God, instituted in Paradi
relief of a natural necessity, and the first bl
the Lord; he gave to man, not a friend,
that is, a friend and a wife too; (for a goo
in her soul the same that a man is, and she
only in her body; that she may have the
of the one, and the usefulness of the other,
amiable in both;) it is the seminary of t
and daily brings forth sons and daughters
it was ministered to by angels, and Raphael
a young man that he might have a blessed
and that that marriage might repair two s
and bless all their relatives. Our blessed L
he was born of a maiden, yet she was veile
cover of marriage, and she was married to
for Joseph, the supposed father of our Lor
dren by a former wife. The first mirac
Jesus did, was to do honour to a wedding
was in the world before sin, and is in all
world the greatest and most effective anti
sin, in which all the world had perished, if
made a remedy: and although sin hath
riage, and stuck the man's head with ca
woman's bed with sorrows in the produc
dren; yet these are but throes of life an
"she shall be saved in child-bearing, if
in faith and righteousness." Marriage is
exercise of virtue; and though marriag

yet the single life hath desires, which are more troublesome and more dangerous, and often end in sin; while the latter are but instances of duty and exercises of piety: and therefore, if single life hath more privacy of devotion, yet marriage hath more necessities and more variety of it, and is an exercise of more graces. In two virtues, celibate or single life may have the advantage of degrees ordinarily and commonly, that is, in chastity and devotion; but as in some persons this may fail and it does in very many, and a married man may spend as much time in devotion as any virgins or widows do; yet as in marriage even those virtues of chastity and devotion are exercised; so in other instances the state hath proper exercises and trials for those graces in which single life can never be crowned. * Here is the proper scene of piety and patience, of the duty of parents and the charity of relatives; here kindness to poor and dumb, and love is united and made firm and constant. Marriage is the nursery of heaven; the virgin would profess to live, but she carries but one soul to him, but the state of marriage fills up the number of the elect, and hath in it the labour of love, and the delicacies of friendship, the blessing of society, and the union of hands and hearts: it hath in it less of beauty, but more of safety, than the single life; it hath more cares but less danger; it is more merry, and more sad, is fuller of sorrows, and fuller of joys; it lies

* *Ad eam dixerunt quibus interpretis re valde valde catalaioni*
de. et deo dixerunt ad eam valde. Pagan.

* *Adde quod Euzacius in la pietate movetur.*

Adde generi nativae caritatis clementia caritatis

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under more burdens, but is supported by all strengths of love and charity, and those burdens delightful.^a Marriage is the mother of the world, preserves kingdoms, and fills cities, and churches, heaven itself. Celibate, like the fly in the head of an apple, dwells in a perpetual sweetness, but alone, and is confined and dies in singularity^b; marriage, like the useful bee, builds a house and gathers sweetness from every flower, and labours and unites into societies and republics, and sends out colonies, and feeds the world with delicacies, and obeys the king, and keeps order, and exercises many virtues, and promotes the interest of mankind, and is the best state of good things to which God hath designed the present constitution of the world.

Τούνεκεν ἐνθέσμως ἄλοχον λάβε, καὶ τινὰ κόσμον
 Ἄδς βροτὸν ἀντὶ σέθεν, φεύγε δὲ μαχλοσύνην.

Single life makes men in one instance to be like angels, but marriage in very many things makes a chaste pair to be like to Christ. This is a great mystery, but it is the symbolical and sacramental sacrament of the greatest mysteries of our religion. Christ descended from his Father's bosom, and attracted his divinity with flesh and blood, and united our nature, and we became a Church, the mystical body of the bridegroom, which he cleansed with his blood, and gave her his Holy Spirit for a dowry, and for a jointure; begetting children unto God

Καλὰ τὰ παρθενίης κειμήλια, παρθενίῃ
 Δὲ τὸν βιδὸν ὤλεσεν ἄν, πᾶσι φυλαττομένην.

^a "Siquis patriam maiorem parentem extinguit. in eo cui"

Gospel. This spouse he hath joined to himself by an excellent charity, he feeds her at his own table, and lodges her nigh his own heart, provides for all her necessities, relieves her sorrows, determines her doubts, guides her wanderings; he is become her head, and she as a signet upon his right hand; he first, indeed, was betrothed to the Synagogue and had many children by her; but she forsook her love; and then he married the Church of the Gentiles, and by her, as by a second venter, had a more numerous issue, *atque una domus est omnium filiorum ejus*, all the children dwell in the same house, and are heirs of the same promises, entitled to the same inheritance. Here is the eternal conjunction, the indissoluble knot, the exceeding love of Christ, the obedience of the spouse, the communicating of goods, the uniting of interests, the fruit of marriage, a celestial generation, a new creature. *Sacramentum hoc magnum est*; this is the sacramental mystery, represented by the holy rite of marriage; so that marriage is divine in its institution, sacred in its union, holy in the mystery, sacramental in its signification, honourable in its appellative, religious in its employments: it is advantage to the societies of men, and it is "holiness to the Lord." *Dico autem in Christo et Ecclesia*, it must be in Christ and the Church.

If this be not observed, marriage loses its mysteriousness: but because it is to effect much of that which

the sacramental rite to the real duty: "Nevertheless, that is, although the former discourse were wholly to explicate the conjunction of Christ and his Church by this similitude, yet it hath in it this real duty, "that the man love his wife, and the wife reverence her husband:" and this is the use we shall now make of it, the particulars of which precept I shall thus dispose: —

1. I shall propound the duty as it generally relates to man and wife in conjunction. 2. The duty and power of the man. 3. The rights and privileges, and the duty of the wife.

(1.) *In Christo et Ecclesia*: that begins all, and there is great need it should be so; for they that enter in the state of marriage, cast a die of the greatest contingency, and yet of the greatest interest in the world next to the last throw for eternity.

Νῦν γὰρ δὴ πάντεσσιν ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἴσταται ἀκμῆς,
Ἡ μαλὰ λυγρὸς ἔλεθος Ἀχαιοῖς, ἥ ἐ βιώναι.

Life or death, felicity or a lasting sorrow, are in the power of marriage. A woman, indeed, ventures; for she hath no sanctuary to retire to from an evil band; she must dwell upon her sorrow, and hatch eggs which her own folly or infelicity hath produced, and she is more under it, because her tormenter hath a warrant of prerogative, and the woman may come to God as subjects do of tyrant princes, but not she hath no appeal in the causes of unkindness though the man can run from many hours of sickness, yet he must return to it again; and when among his neighbours, he remembers the object lies in his bosom and he sighs deeply

" Ah tum te miserum, malique fati
 Quem attractia pedibus, patenta porta
 Percurrent mugilesque raphanique."

The boys, and the pedlars, and the fruiterers shall tell of this man, when he is carried to his grave, that he lived and died a poor wretched person. The stags in the Greek epigram, whose knees were clogged with frozen snow upon the mountains, came down to the brooks of the valleys, *χλιῆναι νοτεροῖς νάμμασιν ὥκν γόνυ*, hoping to thaw their joints with the waters of the stream; but there the frost overtook them, and bound them fast in ice, till the young herdsmen took them in their stranger snare. It is the unhappy chance of many men, finding many inconveniences upon the mountains of single life, they descend into the valleys of marriage* to refresh their troubles, and there they enter into fetters and are bound to sorrow by the cords of a man's or woman's peevishness; and the worst of the evil is, they are to thank their own follies; for they fell into the snare by entering an improper way: Christ and the Church were no ingredients in their choice: but as the Indian women enter into folly for the price of an elephant, and think their crime warrantable; so do men and women change their liberty for a rich fortune, (like Eriphile the Argive, *Ἡ χρυσὸν φίλου ἀνδρὸς ἐδέξατο τιμήντα*, she preferred gold before a good man,) and show themselves to be less than money by over-valuing that to all the content and wise felicity of their

* Ἀχρὶς ἂν ᾖς ἀγαμος, Νομήνιε, πάντα δοκεῖ σοι
 Ἐν τῷ ζῆν εἶναι τ' ἀγαθὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν.
 Εἰθ' ὅταν εἰσέλθῃ γαμετῇ, πάλιν εὐθὺς δοκεῖ σοι

[BP. TAYLOR

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calidity of their

lives; and when they have counted the money
their sorrows together, how willingly would they
with the loss of all that money, modesty, or
nature to their relative! The odd thousand
would gladly be allowed in good nature and fair
ners. As very a fool is he that chooses for be
principally; *cui sunt eruditi oculi, et stulta mens* (
said), whose eyes are witty, and their soul sens
is an ill band of affections to tie two hearts toge
a little thread of red and white.

Ὁυδεμίαν φησὶν ἡ τραγωδία
Ὡς ἔστι καὶ ἄλλος εἰς πόσιν ξυμφορῶν.

And they can love no longer but until the n
comes, and they are fond of each other by
chance of fancy, or the small-pox, or child-be
care or time, or anything that can destroy
flower.* But it is the basest of all when
paranymph, and solicits the suit, and makes th
and joins the hands; for this is commonly t
the former, according to the Greek proverb,

Ἄλλ' ἦτοι πρότερον λέων γένετο ἡδυνέως,
Ἀντὶς ἐπειτα δράκων, καὶ πάρδαλις, ἢ δὲ μέγας

At first, for his fair cheeks and comely bea
is taken for a lion, but at last he is turned
or a leopard, or a swine. That which is, a
on the face, may prove lust in the manner

* "Non ego illam mihi dotem duco esse quæ dos dī
Sed pudicitiam, et pudorem, et sedatum cupidī
Deūm metum, parentum amorem, et cognatūm

Αὐτοῖς δὲ τοῖς δεῦσι τῆς κέρκας μόνην
Καὶ μὲν, ὅσπερ παιδευομέναις, δέτετε.

So Eubulus wittily reprehended such impure contracts: they offer in their marital sacrifices nothing but the thigh, and that which the priests cut from the goats when they were laid to bleed upon the altars. Ἐὰν εἰς κάλλος σώματος βλέψῃ τις (ὁ λόγος φησὶ) καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ σὰρξ εἶναι κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν δόξῃ καλὴ, σαρκικῶς ἰδὼν, καὶ αμαρτηκῶς δι' οὐ τεθαύμακε, κρίνεται, said St. Clement. "He or she that looks too curiously upon the beauty of the body, looks too low, and hath flesh and corruption in his heart, and is judged sensual and earthly in his affections and desires." Begin therefore with God. Christ is the president of marriage, and the Holy Ghost is the fountain of purities and chaste loves, and he joins the hearts; and therefore let our first suit be in the court of Heaven, and with designs of piety, or safety, or charity; let no impure spirit defile the virgin purities and "castifications of the soul" (as St. Peter's phrase is); let all such contracts begin with religious affections.

"Conjugium petimus, partumque uxoris, at illis
Notum, qui pueri, qualisque futura sit uxor."

We sometimes beg of God for a wife or a child, and he alone knows what the wife shall prove, and by what dispositions and manners, and into what fortune that child shall enter: but we shall not need to fear concerning the event of it, if religion, and fair intentions, and prudence manage, and conduct it all the way. The preservation of a family, the production of children,

by the comforts of society, all these are fair ends marriage, and hallow the entrance; but in these there is a special order: society was the first designed, "It is not good for man to be alone;" Children was next, "Increase and multiply;" but the avoiding fornication came in by the superfoetation of the evil accident of the world. The first makes marriage delectable, second necessary to the public, the third necessary to the particular; this is for safety, for life, and health itself.

"Nam simulac venas inflavit tetra libido,
Huc juvenes sequum est descendere;"—

The other have in them joy and a portion of immortality: the first makes the man's heart glad; the second is the friend of kingdoms, and cities, and families; the third is the enemy to hell, and an antidote of the chiefest inlet to damnation: but of all these the noblest end is the multiplying children, *Mundus cum peccatorum Deorum tristium atque inferum quasi patet janua; propterea uxorem, liberorum quærendorum causa, ducere religiosum est*, said Varro.^a It is religion to marry for children, and Quintilian put it into the definition of a wife, *enim uxor quam jungit, quam diducit utilitas; cujus reverentia est, quod videtur inventa in causa liberorum* and therefore St. Ignatius^b, when he had spoken of Elia and Titus, and Clement, with an honourable mention of their virgin state, lest he might seem to have lessened the married Apostles, at whose feet in Christ's kingdom he thought himself unworthy to sit, he gives this testimony: they were τοῖς γάμοις προσομιλήσαντες οὐχ

^a Macrobius ex Varrone.

^b Epist. ad Philadelphum.

προθυμίας τῆς περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐννοίας ἑαυτῶν τοῦ γένους ἔσχον ἐκείνους, that they might not be disparaged in their great names of holiness and severity, they were secured by not marrying to satisfy their lower appetites, but out of desire of children. Other considerations, if they be incident and by way of appendage, are also considerable in the accounts of prudence; but when they become principles, they defile the mystery and make the blessing doubtful. *Amabit sapiens, cupient cæteri*, said Afranius; love is a fair inducement, but desire and appetite are rude, and the characteristics of a sensual person. *Amare justi et boni est, cupere impotentis*; to love, belongs to a just and a good man; but to lust, or furiously and passionately to desire, is the sign of impotency and an unruly mind.

2. Man and wife are equally concerned to avoid all offences of each other in the beginning of their conversation: every little thing can blast an infant blossom; and the breath of the south can shake the little rings of the vine, when first they begin to curl like the locks of a new-weaned boy; but when by age and consolidation they stiffen into the hardness of a stem, and have by the warm embraces of the sun and the kisses of heaven brought forth their clusters, they can endure the storms of the north, and the loud noises of a tempest, and yet never be broken. So are the early unions of an unfixed marriage; watchful and observant, jealous and busy, inquisitive and careful, and apt to take alarm at every unkind word. For infirmities do not manifest themselves in the first scenes, but in the succession of a long

appears at first, but it is want of love or prudence, or it will be so expounded; and that which appears ill at first usually affrights the unexperienced man or woman who makes unequal conjectures, and fancies mighty sorrows by the proportions of the new and early unkindness. It is a very great passion, or a huge folly, or a certain want of love, that cannot preserve the colours and beauties of kindness, so long as public honesty requires a man to wear their sorrows for the death of a friend. Plutarch compares a new marriage to a vessel before the hoops are on, *μετὰ ἀρχὰς μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς τυχοῦσης ῥαδίως διασπᾶται προφάσεως*, every thing dissolves their tender compaginations, but *χρόνῳ τῶν ἀρμῶν σύμπηξιν λαβόντων, μόγις ὑπὸ πυρὸς καὶ σιδήρου διαλύεται*, when the joints are stiffened and are tied by a firm compliance and proportioned bending, scarcely can it be dissolved without fire or the violence of iron. After the hearts of the man and the wife are endeared and hardened by a mutual confidence and experience, longer than artifice and pretence can last, there are a great many remembrances, and some things present, that dash all little unkindnesses in pieces. The little boy in the Greek epigram, that was creeping down a precipice, was invited to his safety by the sight of his mother's pap^a, when nothing else could intice him to return: and the bond of common children, and the sight of her that nurses what is most dear to him, and the endearments of each other in the course of a long society and the same relation, is an excellent security

to reintegrate and to call that love back which folly and trifling accidents would disturb.

“ Tormentum ingens nubentibus hæret
Quæ nequeunt parere, et partu retinere maritos.”

When it is come thus far, it is hard untwisting the knot; but be careful in its first coalition, that there be no rudeness done; for if there be, it will for ever after be apt to start and to be diseased.

3. Let man and wife be careful to stifle little things^a, that as fast as they spring, they be cut down and trod upon; for if they be suffered to grow by numbers, they make the spirit peevish, and the society troublesome, and the affections loose and easy by an habitual aversion. Some men are more vexed with a fly than with a wound; and when the gnats disturb our sleep, and the reason is disquieted but not perfectly awakened, it is often seen that he is fuller of trouble than if in the daylight of his reason he were to contest with a potent enemy. In the frequent little accidents of a family, a man's reason cannot always be awake; and when his discourses are imperfect, and a trifling trouble makes him yet more restless, he is soon betrayed to the violence of passion. It is certain that the man or woman are in a state of weakness and folly then, when they can be troubled with a trifling accident; and therefore it is not good to tempt their affections, when they are in that state of danger. In this case the caution is, to subtract fuel from the sudden flame; for stubble, though it be quickly kindled, yet it is as soon extinguished, if it be not blown by a pertinacious

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breath, or fed with new materials. Add no new vocations to the accident, and do not inflame this, peace will soon return, and the discontent will away soon, as the sparks from the collision of a ever remembering, that discontents proceeding daily little things, do breed a secret undiscernible ease, which is more dangerous than a fever proceeding from a discerned notorious surfeit.

4. Let them be sure to abstain from all those which by experience and observation they find contrary to each other. They that govern el never appear before them in white, and the merchants keep from them all garments of blood and as knowing that they will be impatient of civ and discipline when their natures are provoked their proper antipathies. The ancients, in the hieroglyphics, used to depict Mercury standing Venus*, to signify, that by fair language and treaties, the minds of each other should be upheld by them, *Suadam et Gratias descripsi* would have all deliciousness of manners, and mutual observance to abide.

5. Let the husband and wife infinitely avoid distinction of *mine* and *thine*; for this hat the laws, and all the suits, and all the world: let them who have but one person but one interest. The husband and wife each other (as Dionysius Halicarnassus

* "Hujus enim rari summiq[ue] volupt[us]
Nulla boni, quoties animo corrupta superl[icitur]"

Romulus) if they die without children, the wife is *τοῖς παῖσιν* the inheritance. But during their ployment is common to both; and in this there is no other difference: for man hath the dispensation of all, as his wife, just as the governor of a household from the right owner; he hath the power to do so. And when either of them is private, it is like a tumour in the flesh, in its share; but what it feeds on turns therefore the Romans forbade any donation between man and wife, because neither transfer a new right of those things which had in common. But this is to be understanding the uses of necessity and personal for so all may be the woman's, and all may in several regards. Corvinus dwells in a house, receives all its profits, and reaps and sows as he will, and eats of the corn and drinks of the wine of his own: but all that also is his lord's, and for it he pays acknowledgment; and his patron hath the use and uses of it as are proper to the lords; and all this, it may be the king's too, to all the uses that he can need, and is all to be accounted in common; and for certain services and times of danger are the riches of a family, they are a woman's as well as a man's: they are hers for need, and hers for ornament, and hers for modest delight, and hers for the

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and governments, stipends and rewards, annuities
 greater donatives, are the reserves of the superior
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 those things where they ought to be common, if
 spleen or the belly swells and draws into its cap
 much of that which should be spent upon those
 which have an equal right to be maintained, it
 dropsy or a consumption of the whole, something
 is evil because it is unnatural and monstrous. Mac
 in his thirty-second homily, speaks fully in this pa
 lar: a woman betrothed to a man bears all her p
 and with a mighty love pours it into the hands
 husband, and says, *ἐμὸν οὐδὲν ἔχω*, I have not
 my own; my goods, my portion, my body, a
 mind is yours.* *Νόμφ γὰρ ἅπαντα γίγνεται τοῦ*
κότος, τὸν πλοῦτον, τὴν δόξαν, τοὺς ἐπαινοὺς, all
 woman hath is reckoned to the right of her h
 not her wealth and her person only, but her re
 and her praise: so Lucian. But as the ea
 mother of all creatures here below, sends u
 vapours and proper emissions at the commar
 sun, and yet requires them again to refresh
 needs, and they are deposited between then
 the bosom of a cloud as a common receptacle,
 may cool his flames, and yet descend to make
 ful; so are the properties of a wife to be
 by her lord: and yet all are for her provisio
 a part of his need to refresh and supply h
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 of either.

* Ῥητόρων διδάσκαλος.

These are the duties of them both, which have common regards and equal necessities and obligations: and indeed there is scarce any matter of duty, but it concerns them both alike, and is only distinguished by names, and hath its variety by circumstances and little accidents; and what in one is called love, in the other is called reverence; and what in the wife is obedience, the same in the man is duty. He provides, and she dispenses; he gives commandments, and she rules by them; he rules her by authority, and she rules him by love; she ought by all means to please him, and he must by no means displease her. For as the heart is set in the midst of the body, and though it strikes to one side by the prerogative of nature, yet those throbs and constant motions are felt on the other side also, and the influence is equal to both; so it is in conjugal duties: some motions are to the one side more than to the other, but the interest is on both, and the duty is equal in the several instances. If it be otherwise, the man enjoys a wife as Periander did his dead Melissa, by an unnatural union, neither pleasing nor holy,—useless to all the purposes of society, and dead to content.

 PART II.

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THE next inquiry is more particular, and considers power and duty of the man: "Let every one of us love his wife even as himself;" she is as himself: a man hath power over her as over himself, and must use her equally. A husband's power over his wife is paternal and friendly, not magisterial and despotic. The wife is in *perpetua tutela*, under conduct and counsel: for the power a man hath is founded in the understanding, not in the will or force: it is not a power of coercion, but a power of advice, and that government which wise men have over those who are fit to be conducted by them: *Et vos in manu et in tutela non in seculo debetis habere eas, et malle patres vos, et viros, quam minos dici*, said Valerius in Livy. Husbands should rather be fathers than lords. Homer adds more appellatives to the character of a husband's duty: *ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ αὐτῇ καὶ πότνια μητὴρ, ἥ δὲ καὶ σὺγγενήτος*. He is to be a father and a mother to her, and a brother. A great reason, unless the state of marriage should be no better than the condition of an orphan. For she is bound to leave father and mother and brothers and thee, either is miserable, like a poor fatherless child, or else ought to find all these and more in thee. Menelaus in Euripides, had cause to complain when she forsook him otherwise.

Πάντων δ', ὅσ' ἔστ' ἔμψυχα, καὶ γνώμην ἔχει
Γυναῖκες ἐσμὲν ἀθλιώτατον φυτόν,
Ἄς πρῶτα μὲν δεῖ χρημάτων ὑπερβολῇ
Πόσιν πρίασθαι, δεσπότην τε σώματος λαβεῖν.

Which St. Ambrose* well translates: “It is sad when virgins are with their own money sold to slavery, and that services are in better state than marriages; for they receive wages, but these buy their fetters, and pay dear for their loss of liberty.” And therefore the Romans expressed the man’s power over his wife but by a gentle word: *Nec vero mulieribus præfectus reponatur, qui apud Græcos creari solet, sed sit censor qui viros doceat moderari uxoribus*, said Cicero; “Let there be no governor of the woman appointed, but a censor of manners, one to teach the men to moderate their wives, that is, fairly to induce them to the measures of their own proportions. It was rarely observed of Philo, Εὖ τὸ μὴ φάναι, ἡ γυνή ἣν ἔδωκας ἐμοί, ἀλλὰ, μετ’ ἐμοῦ· οὐ γὰρ ἐμοί ὡς κτῆμα τὴν αἰσθησιν ἔδωκας, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴν ἀφῆκας ἀνετὸν καὶ ἐλευθερον. When Adam made that fond excuse for his folly in eating the forbidden fruit, he said, “The woman thou gavest to be with me, she gave me;” he says not “the woman which thou gavest to me;” — no such thing. She is none of his goods, none of his possessions, not to be reckoned amongst his servants; God did not give her to him so; — “The woman thou gavest to be with me,” that is, to be my partner, the companion of my joys and sorrows; thou gavest her for use, not for dominion. The dominion of a man over his wife is no other than as the soul rules the body; for which it takes a mighty care, and uses it with a delicate tenderness, and cares for it in all contingencies, and watches to keep it from all evils, and studies to make for it fair provisions, and very

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never contradict its appetites, but when they are
and then also not without some trouble and sorrow;
its government comes only to this, — it furnishes
body with light and understanding, and the body
nishes the soul with hands and feet: the soul gove
because the body cannot else be happy; but the gov
ment is no other than provision; as a nurse gover
child when she causes him to eat, and to be warm,
dry, and quiet. And yet even the very govern
itself is divided; for man and wife in the family
the sun and moon in the firmament of heaven: he
by day, and she by night; that is, in the lesser and
proper circles of her affairs, in the conduct of do
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light, and rules by his authority: and as the m
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whom wives were instead of servants, said Spa
Caracalla; and it is a sign of impotency and
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enough to govern, when another stands by. So many differences as can be in the appellatives of *dominus* and *domina*, governor and governess, lord and lady, master and mistress, the same difference there is in the authority of man and woman, and no more. *Si tu Caius, ego Caia*, was publicly proclaimed upon the threshold of the young man's house, when the bride entered into his hands and power; and the title of *domina*, in the sense of the civil law, was among the Romans given to wives.

“*Hi Dominam Ditis thalamo diducere adorti*,”

said Virgil; where, though Servius^b says it was spoken after the manner of the Greeks, who called the wife *δέσποιναν*, lady or mistress, yet it was so amongst both the nations.

“*Ac domus dominam voca*,”

says Catullus;

“*Hærebit dominæ vir comes ipse suæ*,”

so Martial; and therefore, although there is just measure of subjection and obedience due from the wife to the husband (as I shall after explain), yet nothing of this is expressed in the man's character, or in his duty: he is not commanded to rule, nor instructed how, nor bidden to exact obedience, or to defend his privilege; all his duty is signified by love^c, by nourishing and cherishing, by being joined with her in all the unions of charity, by “not being bitter to her^d,” by “dwelling with her according to knowledge, giving honour to her.”^e So that it seems to be with husbands as it is with bishops and

priests, to whom much honour is due, but yet so that if they stand upon it, and challenge it, they become less honourable. And as amongst men and women humility is the way to be preferred; so it is in husbands, they shall prevail by cession, by sweetness and counsel, and charity and compliance. So that we cannot discourse of the man's right without describing the measures of his duty; that therefore follows next.

"Let him love his wife even as himself:" that is his duty, and the measure of it, too; which is so plain, that if he understands how he treats himself, there needs nothing be added concerning his demeanour towards her, save only that we add the particulars, in which Holy Scripture instances this general commandment.

Mὴ πικραίνετε. That is the first. "Be not bit against her;" and this is the least index and signification of love. A civil man is never bitter against a friend or a stranger, much less to him that enters under roof, and is secured by the laws of hospitality. If a wife does all that, and more: she quits all her interest for his love; she gives him all that she can give: he is as much the same person as another can be the same who is conjoined by love, and mystery, and religion: all that is sacred and profane.

"Non equidem hoc dubites amborum fœdere certo
Consentire dies, et ab uno sidere duci;"

They have the same fortune, the same father, the same children, the same religion, the same inheritance, the same flesh (*erunt duo in carnem unam*), and this the Apostle urges for his *ut πικραίνετε*.

hateth his own flesh, but nourisheth and cherisheth it ;” and he certainly is strangely sacrilegious, and a violator of the rights of hospitality and sanctuary, who uses her rudely, who is fled for protection, not only to his house, but also to his heart and bosom. A wise man will not wrangle with any one, much less with his dearest relative ; and if it be accounted indecent to embrace in public, it is extremely shameful to brawl in public ; for the other is in itself lawful, but this never, though it were assisted with the best circumstances of which it is capable. Marcus Aurelius said that “a wise man ought often to admonish his wife, to reprove her seldom, but never to lay his hands upon her.”* *Neque verberibus neque maledictis exasperandam uxorem*, said the doctors of the Jews ; and Homer brings in Jupiter sometimes speaking sharply to Juno (according to the Greek liberty and empire), but made a pause at striking her—

Οὐ μὰν οἷδ’ εἰ αὖτε κακοῦραφής ἀλεγείης
Πρώτη ἐταύρηαι καὶ σε πληγῆσιν ἱμάσσει. *

And the ancients use to sacrifice to Juno γαμήλιος, or the president of marriage, without gall ; and St. Basil observes and urges it, by way of upbraiding quarrelling husbands : *Etiam vipera virus ob nuptiarum venerationem evomit* : the viper casts all his poison when he marries his female. *Tu duritiam animi, tu feritatem, tu crudeli-*

* “ Ah lapis est, ferrumque, suam quicunque puellam
Verberat . è cœlo diripit ille Deos.
Sit satis è membris tenuem præscindere vestem,
Sit satis ornatus dissoluisse comes : . . .

tatem ob unionis reverentiam non deponis?^a He is worse than a viper, who, for the reverence of this sacred union, will not abstain from such a poisonous bitterness; and how shall he embrace that person whom he hath smitten reproachfully? for those kindnesses are indecent which the fighting man pays unto his wife. St. Chrysostom, preaching earnestly against this barbarous inhumanity of striking the wife, or reviling her with evil language, says, it is as if a king should beat his viceroy, and use him like a dog, from whom most of that reverence and majesty must needs depart, which he first put upon him; and the subjects shall pay him less duty, how much his prince hath treated him with less civility; but the loss redounds to himself, and the government of the whole family shall be disordered, if blows be laid upon that shoulder, which, together with the other, ought to bear nothing but the cares and the issues of a prudent government. And it is observable, that no man ever did this rudeness for a virtuous end: it is an incompetent instrument, and may proceed from wrath and folly, but can never end in virtue and the unions of a prudent and fair society. *Quod si verberaveris, exasperabis morbum*, saith St. Chrysostom; *asperitas enim mansuetudine, non alia asperitate, dissolvitur*; if you strike, you exasperate the wound, and, like Cato at Utica, in his despair, tear the wounds in pieces; and yet he that did so ill to himself, whom he loved well, he loved not women tenderly, and yet would never strike: and if the man cannot endure her talking, how can she endure his striking? But this caution contains

^a Homil. 7. Hexam.

a duty in it which none prevaricates, but the meanest of the people, fools and bedlams, whose kindness is a curse, whose government is by chance and violence, and their families are herds of talking cattle.

“ Sic alternos reficit cursus
 Alternus Amor, sic astrigeris
 Bellum discors exulat oris.
 Hæc concordia temperat æquis
 Elementa modis, ut pugnantia
 Vicibus cedant humida siccis,
 Jungantque fidem frigora flammis.”

The marital love is infinitely removed from all possibility of such rudenesses; it is a thing pure as light, sacred as a temple, lasting as the world: *Amicitia, quæ desinere potuit, nunquam vera fuit*, said one; that love, that can cease, was never true; it is *ὁμιλία*, so Moses called it; it is *ἔννοια*, so St. Paul; it is *φιλότης*, so Homer; it is *φιλοφροσύνη*, so Plutarch; that is, it contains in it all “sweetness,” and all “society,” and “felicity,” and all “prudence,” and all “wisdom:” for there is nothing can please a man without love; and if a man be weary of the wise discourses of the Apostles, and of the innocence of an even and a private fortune, or hates peace or a fruitful year, he hath reaped thorns and thistles from the choicest flowers of paradise; for nothing can sweeten felicity itself, but love; but when a man dwells in love, then the breasts of his wife are pleasant as the droppings upon the hill of Hermon, her eyes are fair as the light of heaven, she is a fountain sealed, and he

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and chaste refreshments. No man can tell, but he that loves his children, how many delicious accents man's heart dance in the pretty conversation of dear pledges*: their childishness, their smiles, their little angers, their innocence, their imperfections, their necessities, are so many little emanations of love and comfort to him that delights in their presence in society: but he that loves not his wife and feeds a lioness at home, and broods a nest of dissensions and blessing itself cannot make him happy. The commandments of God, enjoining a man to love his wife," are nothing but so many necessities and capacities of joy. She that is loved is safe, and he that loves is joyful. Love is a union of perfectness: it contains in it, proportion and satisfaction, and rest and confidence; and I wish that this much proceeded in, that the heathens themselves did not go beyond us in this virtue, and its proper appendant happiness. Tiberius Gracchus chose death for the safety of his wife; and yet, methinks, it should be no hard thing, for a Christian to do so, should be no hard thing, if his servants will die for their masters, and many will die for their friend; but the examples are many of those that are ready to do it for their parents, their relatives; and yet some there have been. Bagoas tells of a Neapolitan, that gave himself up to the Moors, that he might follow his wife; and Marcus Catalussius, the prince of Lesbos, kept

* *Felices ter et amplius,
Quos irrupta tenet copula, nec malis
Divulsos querimoniis,
Supremâ citius solvet amor die.*

with his lady when she was a leper: and these are greater things than to die.

But the cases in which this can be required are so rare and contingent, that Holy Scripture instances not the duty in this particular, but it contains in it that the husband should nourish and cherish her, that he should refresh her sorrows and entice her fears into confidence and pretty arts of rest: for even the fig-trees that grew in Paradise had sharp-pointed leaves, and harshnesses fit to mortify the too forward lusting after the sweetness of the fruit. But it will concern the prudence of the husband's love to make the cares and evils as simple and easy as he can, by doubling the joys and acts of a careful friendship, by tolerating her infirmities; because, by so doing, he either cures her or makes himself better^a; by fairly expounding all the little traverses of society and communication, by taking everything by the right handle, as Plutarch's expression is, for there is nothing but may be misinterpreted, and yet, if it be capable of a fair construction, it is the office of love to make it.

Εὖ λέγειν δ', ὅτ' ἐν τι λέξει, χρη δοκεῖν, καὶ μὴ λέγειν.
Καὶ κλονεῖν, ὃ 'ν τῷ ξυνόντι. πρὸς χάριν μάλα λέγειν.

Love will account that to be well said, which, it may be, was not so intended; and then it may cause it to be so another time.

3. Hither also is to be referred that he secure the interest of her virtue and felicity by a fair example;

^a "Uxor's vitium tollas opus est, aut feras : . . .

for a wife to a husband is a line or superficies, it hath dimensions of its own, but no motion or proper affections, but commonly puts on such images of virtues or vices as are presented to her by her husband's idea; and if thou beest vicious, complain not that she is infected that lies in thy bosom, the interest of whose loves ties her to transcribe thy copy, and write after the characters of thy manners. Paris was a man of pleasure, and Helena was an adulteress, and she added covetousness upon her own account. But Ulysses was a prudent man, and a wary counsellor, sober and severe; and he efformed his wife into such imagery as he desired; and she was chaste as the snows upon the mountains, diligent as the fatal sisters, always busy and always faithful, *γλῶσσαν μὲν ἀργήν, χεῖρα δ' εἶχεν ἐργάτην*, she had a lazy tongue and a busy hand.

4. Above all the instances of love, let him preserve towards her an inviolable faith and an unspotted chastity, for this is the marriage ring^a, it ties two hearts by an eternal band; it is like the cherubim's flaming sword, set for the guard of paradise; he that passes into that garden, now that it is immured by Christ and the Church, enters into the shades of death. No man must touch the forbidden tree, that in the midst of the garden, which is the tree of knowledge and life. Chastity is the security of love, and preserves all the mysteriousness like the secrets of a temple. Under this lock is deposited security of families, the union of affections, the repairer of accidental breaches.

^a Καὶ ἀνόθευτον τηροῦσι τὸν γάμον.

Καὶ σφ' ἑκρῖτα νύκτα λύου·
 Εἰς εἶν' ἄνέσσαιμι δμωθῆναι φιλότῳ.

This is a grace that is shut up and secured by all arts of Heaven, and the defence of laws, the locks and bars of modesty, by honour and reputation, by fear and shame, by interest and high regards; and that contract that is intended to be for ever, is yet dissolved and broken by the violation of this: nothing but death can do so much evil to the holy rites of marriage as unchastity and breach of faith can. The shepherd Cratis, falling in love with a she-goat, had his brains beaten out with a buck as he lay asleep; and by the laws of the Romans, a man might kill his daughter, or his wife, if he surprised her in the breach of her holy vows, which are as sacred as the threads of life, secret as the privacies of the sanctuary, and holy as the society of angels. *Nullæ sunt inimicitie nisi amoris acerbæ*; and God, that commanded us to forgive our enemies, left it in our choice, and hath not commanded us to forgive an adulterous husband or a wife; but the offended party's displeasure may pass into an eternal separation of society and friendship. Now in this grace it is fit that the wisdom and severity of the man should hold forth a pure taper, that his wife may, by seeing the beauties and transparency of that crystal, dress her mind and her body by the light of so pure reflections. It is certain he will expect it from the modesty and retirement, from the passive nature and colder temper, from the humility

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confidence, the strength and severity of the man shall be as holy and certain in this grace, as he is a se-
exactoer of it at her hands, who can more easily be
tempted by another, and less by herself.

These are the little lines of a man's duty, which, like
threads of light from the body of the sun, do clearly
describe all the regions of his proper obligations. As
concerning the woman's duty, although it consists in
doing whatsoever her husband commands, and she receives
measures from the rules of his government, yet there are
also some lines of life depicted upon her husband, by
which she may read and know how to propose and
out her duty to her husband.

1. The first is obedience; which because it is
where enjoined that the man should exact of her, and
often commanded for her to pay, gives demonstration
that it is a voluntary cession that is required, suc-
cession as must be without coercion and violence on
part, but upon fair inducements and reasonableness
the thing, and out of love and honour on her part.
When God commands us to love him, he means we
should obey him: "This is love, that ye keep my
commandments;" and "If ye love me," said our Lord,
"keep my commandments." Now, as Christ is to the
Church, so is man to the wife; and therefore obedience
is the best instance of her love, for it proclaims her
submission, her humility, her opinion of his wisdom,
his pre-eminence in the family, the right of his
command, and the injunction imposed by God upon her
that although "in sorrow she bring forth children"

fate of miserable and unblessed people ; and the wife can be no ways happy, unless she be governed by a prudent lord, whose commands are sober counsels, whose authority is paternal, whose orders are provisions, and whose sentences are charity.

But, now, concerning the measures and limits of this obedience, we can best take accounts from Scripture: *ἐν παντί*, saith the Apostle, in all things, *ut Domino*, as to the Lord^a; and that is large enough: as unto a lord, *ut ancilla domino*: so St. Hierome understands it, who neither was a friend to the sex nor to marriage. But his mistake is soon confuted by the text ; it is not, *ut dominis*, be subject to your husbands as unto lords, but, *ὡς τῷ Κυρίῳ* ; that is, in all religion, in reverence and in love, in duty and zeal, in faith and knowledge ; or else *ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ* may signify, “ Wives, be subject to your husbands ; but yet so, that at the same time ye be subject to the Lord.” For that is the measure of *ἐν παντί*, in all things ; and it is more plain in the parallel place^b, *ὡς ἀνήκεν ἐν Κυρίῳ*, as it is fit in the Lord. Religion must be the measure of your obedience and subjection: *intra limites disciplinæ*, so Tertullian expresses it. *Πάντα μὲν τῷ ἀνδρὶ πειθομένη, ὡς μηδὲν, ἀκόντος ἐκείνου, πράξαι ποτὲ πλὴν ὅσα εἰς ἀρετὴν καὶ σοφίαν διαφέρειν νομίζεται*, so Clemens Alexandrinus.^c In all things let the wife be subject to the husband, so as to do nothing against his will ; those only things excepted in which he is impious or refractory in things pertaining to wisdom and piety.

although in those things which are of the necessary parts of faith and holy life, the woman is only subject to Christ, who only is and can be Lord of consciences, and commands alone where the conscience is instructed and convinced; yet, as it is part of the man's office to be a teacher, and a prophet, and a guide, and a master, so also it will relate very much to the demonstration of their affections to obey his counsels, to imitate his virtues, to be directed by his wisdom, to have her persuasion measured by the lines of his excellent religion. Οὐχ ἦττον δὲ σεμνὸν ἀκούσαι γαμετῆς λεγούσης, ἀνὴρ σύ μοι ἐσσι καθηγητῆς καὶ φιλόσοφος καὶ διδάσκαλος τῶν καλλίστων καὶ θειοτάτων. It were hugely decent (saith Plutarch) that the wife should acknowledge her husband for her teacher and her guide; for then, when she is what he please to efform her, he hath no cause to complain if she be no better: τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα μαθήματα πρῶτον ἀφίστησι τῶν ἀτόπων τὰς γυναῖκας; his precept and wise counsels can draw her off from vanities; and as he said of geometry, that if she be skilled in that, she will not easily be a gamester or a dancer, may perfectly be said of religion. If she suffers herself to be guided by his counsel, and efformed by his religion, either he is an ill master in his religion, or he may secure in her, and for his advantage, an excellent virtue. And although in matters of religion the husband hath no empire and command, yet if there be a place left to persuade, and entreat, and induce by arguments, there is not in a family a greater endearment of affections than the unity of religion: and anciently it was not

permitted to a woman to have a religion by herself. *Eosdem quos maritus, nosse Deos et colere solos uxor debet*, saith Plutarch. And the rites which a woman performs severally from her husband are not pleasing to God; and therefore Pomponia Græcina, because she entertained a stranger religion, was permitted to the judgment of her husband Plantius. And this whole affair is no stranger to Christianity, for the Christian woman was not suffered to marry an unbelieving man; and although this is not to be extended to different opinions within the limits of the common faith, yet thus much advantage is won or lost by it: that the compliance of the wife, and submission of her understanding to the better rule of her husband, in matters of religion, will help very much to warrant her, though she should be mispersuaded in a matter less necessary; yet nothing can warrant her in her separate rites and manners of worshippings, but an invincible necessity of conscience, and a curious infallible truth; and if she be deceived alone, she hath no excuse; if with him, she hath much pity, and some degrees of warranty under the protection of humility, and duty, and dear affections; and she will find that it is part of her privilege and right to partake of the mysteries and blessings of her husband's religion. *Γυναῖκα γαμετὴν μετὰ νόμους ἱερὸς συνέλθουσιν ἀνδρὶ κοινωνὸν ἀπάντων εἶναι, χρημάτων τε καὶ ἱερῶν*, said Romulus. A woman, by the holy laws, hath right to partake of her husband's goods, and her husband's sacrifices, and holy things. Where there is a schism in one bed, there is a nursery of temptations,

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et colere solos uxor debet
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destroyed^a; there dwell jealousies, and divided interests
and differing opinions, and continual disputes, and
cannot love them so well, whom we believe to be
beloved of God; and it is ill uniting with a person
concerning whom my persuasion tells me, that
like to live in hell to eternal ages.

The next line of the woman's duty is compliance
which St. Peter calls "the hidden man of the heart,"
the ornament of a meek and a quiet spirit^b," and
he opposes "the outward and pompous ornament of the
body;" concerning which, as there can be no particular
measure set down to all persons, but the propriety
were to be measured by the customs of wise people,
the quality of the woman, and the desires of the husband,
yet it is to be limited by Christian modesty, and the
usages of the more excellent and severe manners.
Menander, in the comedy, brings in a man turning out his
wife from his house because she stained her hair with
which was then the beauty.

Νῦν δ' ἔρχ' ἀπ' οἰκῶν τῶνδε· τὴν γυναῖκα γὰρ
τὴν σώφρον' οὐ δεῖ τὰς τρίχας ξανθὰς ποιεῖν.

A wise woman should not paint. A studious
lantry in clothes cannot make a wise man
wife the better. Εἰς τοὺς τραγώδους χρήσιμ',
τὸν βίον, said the comedy; such gaieties are
tragedies, but not for the uses of life: *Decor*

— "Quis deditus autem
Usque adeò est, ut non illam, quam laudibus effert,
Horreat, inque diem septenis oderit horis?" Juv.

^a 1 Pet. ii. 4.

et tecta venustas, that is the Christian woman's fineness, "the hidden man of the heart," sweetness of manners, humble comportment, fair interpretation of all addresses, ready compliances, high opinion of him, and mean of herself.^a

Ἐν κοινῷ λύπης ἡδονῆς τ' ἔχειν μέρος; to partake secretly and in her heart of all his joys and sorrows, to believe him comely and fair, though the sun hath drawn a cypress over him; for as marriages are not to be contracted by the hands and eyes, but with reason and the hearts, so are these judgments to be made by the mind, not by the sight^b; and diamonds cannot make the woman virtuous, nor him to value her who sees her put them off then when charity and modesty are her brightest ornaments.

ἽΟυ κόσμος, οὐκ, ὧ τλήμων, ἀλλ' ἀκοσμία
φαίνεται' ἂν εἶναι σῶν μαργαρίτης φρενῶν, &c.

And, indeed, those husbands that are pleased with undecent gaieties of their wives, are like fishes taken with ointments and intoxicating baits, apt and easy for sport and mockery, but useless for food; and when Circe had turned Ulysses' companions into hogs and monkeys, by pleasures and the enchantments of her

^a "Malo Venusinam quàm te Cornelia mater
Gracchorum, si cum magnis virtutibus affers
Grande supercilium, et numeras in dote triumphos."

Juven. Sat. 6.

"Quid juvat ornato procedere, vita, capillo,
Teque peregrinis vendere muneribus,
Naturæque decus mercato perdere cultu,
Nec sinere in propriis membra nitere bonis?"

Propert. l. 1. El. 1.

^b Πρῶτα μὲν γε τοῦθ' ὑπάρχειν· κἂν ἁμορφος ᾖ πόσις· χρὴ δοκεῖν εὐμορ-

the Christian woman's heart, "sweetness of heart, fair interpretation of her words, high opinion of him, and
 οὐ τ' ἔχειν μέρος; to partake of all his joys and sorrows, though the sun hath drawn marriages are not to be contracted, but with reason and the hearts to be made by the mind. Diamonds cannot make the value her who sees her purity and modesty are her

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relia mater
 tutibus affers
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capillo,
 eribus,
 e cultu,
 nitere bonis?"
 Propert. l. 1. El. 1.
 ἡ δὲ χρὴ δοκεῖν εὐμορ

bravery and luxury, they were no longer useful; she knew not what to do with them; but like Ulysses she was continually enamoured. Indeed outward ornament is fit to take fools, but they are not worth the taking; but she that hath a wise husband must entice him to an eternal dearness by the modesty, and the grave robes of chastity, the calmness of meekness, and the jewels of faith and charity. She must have no *fucus* but blushings, her brightness must be purity, and she must shine round about with kindnesses and friendship; and she shall be pleasant while she lives, and desired when she dies. If not,

Κατανοῦσα δὲ κέλσεται,
 Οὐδέ τις μνημοσύνα σέθεν ἔσσεται,
 Οὐ γὰρ μετέχεις ῥόδων τῶν ἐκ πικρίας.

Her grave shall be full of rottenness and dirt, and her memory shall be worse after she is dead: "after she is dead:" for that will be the end of merry meetings; and I choose this to be the law to both.

3. "Remember the days of darkness, for many;" the joys of the bridal chambers are past, and the remaining portion of the state is to progress without variety of joys, but not without change of sorrows; but that portion that shall go into the grave must be eternal. It is fit that we should infuse a bunch of myrrh into the festival goblet after the Egyptian manner, serve up a dead man at a feast. I will only show it, and take it away; it will make the wine bitter, but wholesome.

must part again, and give an account how they treat themselves and each other, shall at that day of their dearth be admitted to glorious espousals; and, when they shall live again, be married to their Lord, and partake of his glories, with Abraham and Joseph, St. Peter and St. Paul, and all the married saints,

Θνητὰ τὰ τῶν θνητῶν, καὶ πάντα παρέρχεται ἡμᾶς·
 *Ὦν δὲ μὴ, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς αὐτὰ παρέρχομεθα.

All those things that now please us shall pass from us, or we from them; but those things that concern the other life are permanent as the numbers of eternity; and although, at the resurrection, there shall be no relation of husband and wife, and no marriage shall be celebrated but the marriage of the Lamb, yet then shall be remembered how men and women passed through this state, which is a type of that; and from this sacramental union all holy pairs shall pass to the spiritual and eternal, where love shall be their portion, and joys shall crown their heads, and they shall lie in the bosom of Jesus, and in the heart of God, to eternal ages. Amen.

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SERMON PREACHED AT A MARRIAGE.

[JOHN DONNE, D.D.]

HOSEA, ii. 19.

And I will marry thee unto me for ever.

THE word which is the hinge upon which all this turns, is *erash*, and *erash* signifies not only a betrothal, as our later translation hath it, but a marriage; and so is it used by David: "Deliver me my wife Michal, whom I married^a;" and so our former translation hath it, and so we accept it, and so shall handle it: "I will marry thee unto me for ever."

The first marriage that was made, God made it in paradise; and of that marriage I had the like occasion as this to speak before, in the presence of many honourable persons in this company. The last marriage which shall be made, God shall make it too, and in paradise too; in the kingdom of glory, and at that marriage, I hope in Him that shall be there to meet, not some, but all this company. The marriage in this text hath relation to both those marriages: it is itself the spiritual and mystical marriage of Jesus to the Church, and to every marriage

^a 2 Sam. iii. 14.

in the Church : and it hath a retrospect, it looks back to the first marriage ; for to that the first word carries us, because from thence God takes his metaphor and comparison, *sponsabo*, “ I will marry ; ” and then it hath a prospect to the last marriage, for to that we are carried in the last word, *in æternum*, “ I will marry thee unto me for ever.” Be pleased, therefore, to give me leave in this exercise, to shift the scene thrice, and to present to your religious considerations three objects, three subjects : first, a secular marriage in paradise ; secondly, a spiritual marriage in the Church ; and thirdly, an eternal marriage in heaven. And in each of these three we shall present three circumstances : first, the persons, *me* and *tibi*, “ I will marry thee ; ” and then the action, *sponsabo*, “ I will marry thee ; ” and, lastly, the term, *in æternum*, “ I will marry thee to me for ever.”

In the first acceptation then, in the first, the secular marriage in paradise, the persons were Adam and Eve : ever since they are he and she, man and woman : at first, by reason of necessity, without any such limitation as now : and now, without any other limitation than such as are expressed in the law of God ; as the Apostles say in the first general council, “ We lay nothing upon you but things necessary *, ” so we call nothing “ necessary ” but that which is commanded by God. If in heaven I may have the place of a man that hath performed the commandments of God, I will not change with him that thinks he hath done more than the commandments of God enjoined him. The

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rule of marriage for degrees and distances in the law of God; but for conditions of men no rule given at all. When God had made Eve in paradise, God did not place Adam in a nunnery on one side, and Eve in a nunnery on the other, and so a river between them. They that build convents and cloisters to frustrate God's institution of marriage, advance the doctrine of devils in forbidding marriage. The devil hath advantages enough against us in keeping men and women together: it was a strange super-devilish invention, to give him a new advantage against us, by keeping men and women asunder in forbidding marriage. Between the heresy of the Catharists, that induced a community of women, and the heresy of the Tatians, that forbade any, none might take any, was a fair latitude. Between the opinion of the Manichean heretics, that induced women to be made by the devil, and your Country heretics that sacrificed to a woman, as to God, to keep a fair distance. Between the denying of marriage, which St. Ambrose is charged to have done, and the making of them such souls, as that they may be priests, as the Peputian heretics did, is a fair way for a moderate man to walk in. To make them gods is ungodly, to make them devils is devilish; to make them servants is unmanly, and to make them as God made them, wives, is manly too. When in your Roman Church they dissolved marriage in natural kindred, in degrees, when God forbids it not, when they dissolve mar-

spiritual kindred, because my grandfather christened that woman's father; when they dissolve marriage upon legal kindred, because my grandfather adopted that woman's father; they separate those whom God hath joined so, as to give leave to join in lawful marriage. When men have made vows to abstain from marriage, I would they would be content to try a little longer than they do, whether they could keep that vow or no: and when men have consecrated themselves to the service of God in his Church, I would they would be content to try a little farther than they do, whether they could abstain or no: but to dissolve marriage made after such a vow, or after orders, is still to separate those whom God hath not separated. The persons are he and she, man and woman; they must be so much; he must be a man, she must be a woman; and they must be no more; not a brother and a sister, not an uncle and a niece; *adduxit ad eum*, was the cause between Adam and Eve; God brought them together; God will not bring me a precontracted person, he will not have me defraud another; nor God will not bring me a misbelieving, a superstitious person, he will not have me drawn from himself: but let them be persons that God hath made, man and woman, and persons that God hath brought together, that is, not put asunder by any law of his, and all such persons are capable of this first, this secular marriage.

In which our second consideration is the action, *sponsabo*; where the active is a kind of passive, "I will marry thee," is, "I will be married unto thee,"

driven in the Roman Church, when, making marriage a sacrament, and being pressed by us with this question, If it be a sacrament, who administers it, who is the priest? they are fain to answer, the bridegroom and the bride, he and she are the priest in that sacrament.* As marriage is a civil contract, it must be done so in public, as that it may have the testimony of men; as marriage is a religious contract, it must be so done, as that it may have the benediction of the priest: in a marriage without testimony of men they cannot claim any benefit by the law; in a marriage without the benediction of the priest they cannot claim any benefit of the Church: for how matrimonially soever such persons as have married themselves may pretend to love, and live together, yet all that love and all that life is but a regulated adultery, it is not marriage.

Now this institution of marriage had three objects: first, *in ustionem*, it was given for a remedy against burning; and then, *in prolem*, for propagation, for children; and lastly, *in adjutorium*, for mutual help. As we consider it the first way, *in ustionem*, every heating is not a burning; every natural concupiscence does not require a marriage; nay, every flaming is not a burning; though a man continue under the flame of carnal temptation as long as St. Paul did, yet it needs not come presently to a *sponsabo*, "I will marry." God gave St. Paul other physic, *gratia mea sufficit*, grace to stand under that temptation; and St. Paul gave himself other physic, *contundo corpus*, convenient disciplines, to tame his body. These will keep a man from

* Bellar. de Matrimo. l. i. c. 6.

burning; *lex uiri est desiderium carni, desideria pati, illustris est, et perfecti*²; to be overcome by our concupiscences, that is to burn; but to quench the fire by religious ways, that is a wife, that is a perfect work. When God at the first institution of marriage had this first use of marriage in his contemplation, that it should be a remedy against burning, God gave man the remedy before he had the disease; for marriage was instituted in the state of innocency, when there was no inordinateness in the affections of man, and so no burning. But as God created rhubarb in the world, whose quality is to purge choler, before there was any choler to purge, so God, according to his abundant forwardness to do us good, created a remedy before the disease, which he foresaw coming, was come upon us. Let him, then, that takes a wife in this first and lowest sense, *in medicinum*, but as his physic, yet make her his cordial physic, take her to his heart, and fill his heart with her, let her dwell there, and dwell there alone, and so they will be mutual antidotes and preservatives one to another, against all foreign temptations. And with this blessing, bless thou, O Lord, these whom thou hast brought hither for this blessing: make all the days of their life like this day unto them; and as thy mercies are "new every morning," make them so to one another; and if they may not die together, sustain thou the survivor of them in that sad hour with this comfort, that He that died for them both will bring them together again in his everlastingness.

The second use of marriage was *in prolificationem*,

for children: and therefore, as St. Augustine puts the case, to contract, before, that they will have no children makes it no marriage, but an adultery: to deny themselves to one another, is as much against marriage as to give themselves to another: to hinder it by physic, or any other practice, nay, to hinder it so far as by a deliberate wish or prayer against children, consists not well with this second use of marriage. And yet in this second use we do not so much consider generation or regeneration; not so much procreation as education, nor propagation as transportation of children. For the world might be filled full enough of children, though there were no marriage; but heaven could not be filled nor the places of the fallen angels supplied, without that care of children's religious education, which from parents in lawful marriage they are likeliest to receive. How infinite and how miserable a circle of sin do we make, if, as we sinned in our parent's loins before we were born, so we sin in our children's actions when we are dead, by having given them either example or liberty of sinning! We have a fearful commination from God upon a good man, upon Eli, for his not restraining the licentiousness of his sons: "I will do a thing in Israel," says God there, "at which every man's ears that hears it shall tingle."^a And it was executed: Eli fell down, and broke his neck. We have a consolation to women for children: "She shall be fruitful in child-bearing," says the Apostle.^b But as the sages and others of the ancients observe, and interpret that place (which interpretation arises out of the

^a 1 Sam. iii. 11. iv. 18.

^b 1 Tim. ii. 15.

letter), it is, *si permanserint*, not if she, but if they, if the children, "continue in faith, in charity, in holiness, and sobriety." The salvation of the parents hath so much relation to the children's goodness, as that if they be ill by the parents' example or indulgence, the parents are as guilty as the children. Art thou afraid thy child should be stung with a snake, and wilt thou let him play with the old serpent, in opening himself to all temptations? Art thou afraid to let him walk in an ill air, and art thou content to let him stand in that pestilent air that is made of nothing but oaths and execrations of blasphemous mouths round about him? It is St. Chrysostom's complaint, *Perditionem magno pretio emunt; salutem nec dono accipere volunt*; we pay dear for our children's damnation, by paying at first for all their childish vanities, and then for their sinful insolences at any rate; and we might have them saved, and ourselves to the bargain, (which were a frugal way, and a debt well hedged in,) for much less than ours and their damnation stands us in. If you have a desire, says that blessed father, to leave them certainly rich, *Deum iis relinque debitorem*, do some such thing for God's service, as you may leave God in their debt. He cannot break; his estate is inexhaustible; he will not break promise, nor break day; "He will show mercy unto thousands in them that love him and keep his commandments." And here, also, may another shower of his benedictions fall upon them whom he hath prepared and presented here. "Let the wife be as a

thy glory, let the parents express the love of parents, and the children, to thy glory, the obedience of children, till they both lose that secular name of parents and children, and meet all alike, in one new name, all saints in thy kingdom, and fellow-servants there.

The third and last use in this institution of secular marriage was, *in adjutorium*, for mutual help. There is no state, no man in any state, that needs not the help of others. Subjects need kings, and if kings do not need their subjects, they need alliances abroad, and they need counsel at home. Even in paradise, where the earth produced all things for life without labour, and the beasts submitted themselves to man, so that he had no outward enemy; and in the state of innocency in paradise, where in man all the affections submitted themselves to reason, so that he had no inward enemy; yet God in this abundant paradise, and in this secure innocency of paradise, even in the survey of his own work, saw, that though all that he had made was good, yet he had not made all good; he found thus much defect in his own work, that man lacked a helper. Everybody needs the help of others; and every good body does give some kind of help to others. Even into the ark itself, where God blessed them all with a powerful and an immediate protection, God admitted only such as were fitted to help one another, couples. In the ark, which was the type of our best condition in this life, there was not a single person. Christ saved once one thief at the last gasp, to show that there may be late repentances; but in the ark he saved none but married persons, to show that he eases himself in making them

helpers to one another. And therefore, when we come to the *posui Deum adjutorium meum*, to rely upon God primarily for our help, God comes to the *faciam tibi adjutorium*, I will make thee a help like thyself: not always like in complexion, nor like in years, nor like in fortune, nor like in birth, but like in mind, like in disposition, like in the love of God and of one another, or else there is no helper. It was no kind of help that David's wife gave him, when she spoke by way of counsel, but, in truth, in scorn and derision, to draw him from a religious act, as the dancing before the ark at that time was: it is no help, for any respect, to slacken the husband in his religion. It was but a poor help that Nabal's wife was fain to give him by telling David, "Alas, my husband is but a fool, like his name; and what will you look for at a fool's hand?" It is the worst help of all to raise a husband by dejecting herself, to help her husband forward in this world, by forfeiting, sinfully and dishonourably, her own interest in the next. The husband is the helper in the nature of a foundation, to sustain and uphold all; the wife in the nature of the roof, to cover imperfections and weaknesses: the husband in the nature of the head, from whom all the sinews flow; the wife in the nature of the hands, into which those sinews flow, and enable them to do their offices. The husband helps as legs to her, she moves by his motion: the wife helps as a staff to him, he moves the better by her assistance. And let this mutual help be a part of our present benediction too. In all the ways of fortune let his industry help her, and in all the ways of sorrow

let her patience help him ; and in all emergent occasions and dangers, spiritual or temporal, “ O God, make speed to save them : O Lord, make haste to help them.”

We have spoken of the persons, man and woman, him and her ; and of the action, first, as it is physic, but cordial physic ; and then for children, but children to be made the children of God ; and lastly, for help, but true help and mutual help. There remains yet, in this secular marriage, the term, how long, for ever : “ I will marry thee for ever.” Now, though there be properly no eternity in this secular marriage, nor in anything in this world, (for eternity is that only which never had beginning, nor ever shall have end), yet we may consider a kind of eternity, a kind of circle without beginning, without end, even in this secular marriage : for, first, marriage should have no beginning before marriage ; no half-marriage, no lending away of the mind, in conditional precontracts before, no lending away of the body in unchaste wantonness before. The body is the temple of the Holy Ghost ; and when two bodies, by marriage, are to be made one temple, the wife is not as the chancel, reserved and shut up, and the man as the walks below, indifferent and at liberty for every passenger. God in his temple looks for first-fruits from both ; that so, on both sides, marriage should have such a degree of eternity, as to have had no beginning of marriage before marriage. It should have this degree of eternity too, this quality of a circle, to have no interruption, no breaking in the way, by unjust suspicions and jealousies. Where there is *spiritus immunditiæ*, as St. Paul calls it, a spirit of uncleanness, there will

necessarily be *spiritus zelotypiæ*, as Moses calls it, a spirit of jealousy. But to raise the devil in the power of the devil, to call up one spirit by another spirit, by the spirit of jealousy and suspicion to induce the spirit of uncleanness where it was not, if a man conjure up a devil so, God knows who shall conjure it down again. As jealousy is a care and not a suspicion, God is not ashamed to protest of himself that he is a jealous God. God commands that no idolatry be committed: "Thou shalt not bow down to a graven image^a;" and before he accuses any man to have bowed down to a graven image, before any idolatry was committed, he tells them that he is "a jealous God." God is jealous before there is any harm done. And God presents it as a curse, when he says, "My jealousy shall depart from thee, and I will be quiet, and no more angry^b;" that is, I will leave thee to thyself, and take no more care of thee. Jealousy that implies care, and honour, and counsel, and tenderness, is rooted in God, for God is a jealous God, and his servants are jealous servants, as St. Paul professes of himself: "I am jealous over you with a godly jealousy."^c But jealousy that implies diffidence and suspicion and accusation is rooted in the devil, for he is "the accuser of the brethren."

So, then, this secular marriage should be *in æternum*, eternal, for ever, as to have no beginning before; and so, too, as to have no jealous interruption by the way; for it is so eternal, as that it can have no end in this life: those whom God hath joined, no man, no devil, can separate so, as that it shall not remain a marriage

so far, as that if those separated persons will live together again, yet they shall not be new married; so far, certainly, the band of marriage continues still. The devil makes no marriages; he may have a hand in drawing conveyances; in the temporal conditions there may be practice, but the marriage is made by God in heaven. The devil can break no marriages neither, though he can, by sin, break off all the good uses and take away all the comforts of marriage. I pronounce not now whether adultery dissolves marriage or no; it is St. Augustine's wisdom to say, "Where the Scripture is silent, let me be silent too:" and I may go lower than he, and say, Where the Church is silent, let me be silent too; and our Church is so far silent in this, as that it hath not said that adultery dissolves marriage. Perchance, then, it is not the death of marriage; but surely it is a deadly wound. We have authors in the Roman Church that think *fornicationem non vagam*, that such an incontinent life as is limited to one certain person, is no deadly sin. But there is none even amongst them that diminish the crime of adultery, *Habere quasi non haberes*, is Christ's counsel, "to have a wife as though thou hadst none," that is, continency, and temperance, and forbearance, and abstinency upon some occasions: but *non habere quasi haberes*, is not so; not to have a wife, and yet have her; to have her that is another's; that is the devil's counsel. That salutation of the angel to the blessed Virgin Mary, "Blessed art thou amongst women," we may make even this interpretation, not only this, she was blessed amongst women, that is, above women, but that she was *benedicta*, blessed

amongst women, that all women blessed her, that no woman had occasion to curse her: and this is the eternity of this secular marriage as far as this world admits any eternity; that it should have no beginning before, no interruption of jealousy in the way, no such approach towards dissolution, as that incontinency, in all opinions and in all Churches, is agreed to be. And here also, without any scruple of fear, or of suspicion of the contrary, there is place for this benediction, upon this couple: Build, O Lord, upon thine own foundations, in these two, and establish thy former graces with future; that no person ever complain of either of them, nor either of them of one another: and so he and she are married *in æternum*, for ever.

We are now come, in our order proposed at first, to our second part, for all is said that I intended of the secular marriage. And of this second, the spiritual marriage, much needs not to be said: there is another priest that contracts that, another preacher that celebrates that, the Spirit of God to our spirit. And for the third marriage, the eternal marriage, it is a boldness to speak anything of a thing so inexpressible as the joys of heaven; it is a diminution of them to go about to heighten them; it is a shadowing of them to go about to lay any colours or light upon them. But yet your patience may perchance last to a word of each of these three circumstances, the persons, the action, the term, both in this spiritual, and in the eternal marriage.

First, then, as in the former part, the secular marriage,

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Eve; and after, every man and woman, and this co
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first, Christ and his Church, for the persons, and
particularly Christ and my soul. And can these
sons meet? in such a distance and in such a dispar
ment can these persons meet? the Son of God and
son of man? When I consider Christ to be *ge*
Jehovæ, the bud and blossom, the fruit and offsprin
Jehovah, Jehovah himself, and myself, before he
me in hand, to be, not a potter's vessel of earth,
that earth of which the potter might make a vess
he would, and break it if he would when he had m
it: when I consider Christ to have been from befor
beginnings, and to be still the image of the Father
same stamp upon the same metal, and myself a pie
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which were imprinted in me in my creation are de
and worn, and washed and burned, and ground
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sider Christ in his circle, in glory with his Fath
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in my circle, I came into this world washed in
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passion for others, I pass through this world
a valley of tears, where tears settle and
when I pass out of this world I leave their
hands close mine, full of tears too; — can th
this image of God, this God himself, this g'

and this vessel of earth, this earth itself, this inglorious worm of the earth, meet without disparagement?

They do meet, and make a marriage; because I am not a body only, but a body and soul: there is a marriage, and Christ marries me. As by the law a man might marry a captive woman in the wars, if he shaved her head, and pared her nails, and changed her clothes^a;" so, my Saviour having fought for my soul, fought to blood, to death, to the death of the cross, for her; having studied my soul so much, as to write all those epistles which are in the New Testament to my soul; having presented my soul with his own picture, that I can see his face in all his temporal blessings; having shaved her head in abating her pride, and pared her nails in contracting her greedy desires, and changed her clothes, not to fashion herself after this world; my soul being thus fitted by himself, Christ Jesus hath married my soul, married her to all the three intendments mentioned in the secular marriage; first, *in unctionem*, against burning; that whether I burn myself in the fires of temptation, by exposing myself to occasions of temptation, or be reserved to be burned by others in the fires of persecution and martyrdom; whether the fires of ambition, or envy, or lust, or the everlasting fires of hell offer at me in an apprehension of the judgments of God; yet, as the Spirit of God shall wipe all tears from mine eyes, so the tears of Christ Jesus shall extinguish all fires in my heart; and so it is a marriage, *in unctionem*, a remedy against burning.

It is so, too, *in prolicationem*, for children; first, *va*

^a Deut. xxi. 12.

earth itself, this is
in our disparagement?
a marriage; because
and soul: there is
As by the law
in the wars, if he
and changed her clothes
for my soul, brought
the cross, for her; but
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sol, woe unto that single soul that is not married
Christ, that is not come into the way of having issue
by him, that is not incorporated in the Christian Church
and in the true Church, but is yet in the wilderness
idolatry amongst the Gentiles, or in the labyrinth
of superstition, amongst the papists; *væ soli*, woe unto
that single man that is not married unto Christ in the
sacraments of the Church; and *væ sterili*, woe unto
them that are barren after this spiritual marriage,
that is a great curse in the prophet Jeremy, *Scr*
virum istum sterilem, "Write this man childless";^a that
implied all calamities upon him; and as soon as Christ
had laid that curse upon the fig-tree, "Let no fruit
grow upon thee for ever"^b, presently the whole tree
withered; no fruit, no leaves neither, nor body left.
To be incorporated in the body of Christ Jesus, and
bring forth no fruits worthy of that profession, is a
woeful state too. *Væ soli*, woe unto the Gentiles
married unto Christ; and *væ sterili*, woe unto in-
considerate Christians, that think not upon their calling,
that conceive not by Christ; but there is a *væ prægn*
too^c; woe unto them that are with child, and are not
delivered; that have good conceptions, religious dispo-
sitions, holy desires to the advancement of God's truth,
but for some collateral respects dare not utter them,
nor bring them to their birth, to any effect. The
purpose of his marriage to us, is to have children by him,
and this is his abundant and his present fecundity,
working now, by me in you, in one instant he
children in me, and grand-children by me. He

Jer. xxii. 30.

^b Matt. xxi. 19.

^c Matt. xxiv. 19.

ied me *in uestionem*, and *in prolem*, against burn-
and for children; but can he have any use in me
lyutorium, for a helper? Surely, if I be able to
him, and clothe him, and harbour him, (and Christ
d not condemn men at the last day for not doing
, if man could not do them,) I am able to help
too. Great persons can help him over sea, convey
name of Christ where it hath not been preached
and they can help him home again; restore his
and his truth, where superstition with violence
disseised him; and they can help him at home,
d his truth there against all machinations to dis-
and dispossess him. Great men can help him
and every man can help him to a better place in
vn heart, and his own actions, than he hath had
; and to be so helped in me, and helped by me,
ve his glory thereby advanced, Christ hath married
oul; and he hath married it *in æternum*, for ever:
is the third and last circumstance in this spiritual,
was in the secular marriage.

d here the *æternum* is enlarged; in the secular
age it was an eternity considered only in this life;
his eternity is not begun in this world, but from
ernity in the Book of Life, in God's eternal decree
y election; there Christ was married to my soul.
t was never in minority, never under years; there
ever any time when he was not as ancient as the
nt of days, as old as his Father. But when my
as in a strange minority, infinite millions of mil-
of generations before my soul was a soul, did

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 soul, and would have done and suffered all that he
 for me alone, if there had been no name but mine in
 Book of Life. And as he hath married me to
 in *æternum*, for ever, before all beginnings, and
æternum, for ever, without any interruptions, so I know
 that "whom he loves, he loves to the end," and that
 hath given me, not a presumptuous impossibility,
 a modest infallibility, that no sin of mine shall di-
 or separate me from him; for that which ends
 secular marriage, ends not the spiritual: not death
 my death does not take me from that husband, but
 husband being by his Father preferred to higher
 and greater glory in another state, I do but go by
 where he is become a king, to have my part in
 glory, and in those additions which he hath reserved
 there. And this hath led us to our third and last
 riage, our eternal marriage in the triumphant Church

And in this third marriage the persons are
 Lamb and my soul: "The marriage of the Lamb
 come, and blessed are they that are called to
 riage supper of the Lamb," says St. John, of
 of our state in the general resurrection. That
 that was "brought to the slaughter, and opened
 his mouth," and I who have opened my mouth
 poured out imprecations and curses upon
 execrations and blasphemies against God upon
 occasion; that Lamb who "was slain from

SERMON PREACHED

[DR. DONNE.

' and was slain by him who " was a murderer from beginning ; " that " Lamb which took away the sins of the world," and I who brought more sins into the world, than any sacrifice but the blood of this Lamb can take away ; this Lamb and I (these are the persons) shall meet and marry : there is the action.

This is not a clandestine marriage, not the private marriage of Christ in the oblation of his Spirit ; and yet a clandestine marriage is a good marriage : nor is it such a parish marriage, as when Christ married himself at my baptism, in a Church here ; and that marriage of a Christian soul to Christ in that sacrament is a blessed marriage : but this is a marriage at great and glorious congregation, where all my sins shall be laid open to the eyes of all the world, and all the blessed virgins shall see all my uncleanness, and all the martyrs see all my tergiversations, and all confessors see all my double dealings in God's service ; where Abraham shall see my faithlessness in God's promises ; and Job my impatience in God's corrections ; and Lazarus my hardness of heart in despising God's blessings to the poor ; and those virgins, and martyrs, and confessors, and Abraham, and Job, and Lazarus, and all that congregation, shall look upon me, and upon me, and upon one another, as though they should forbid those banns, and say to one another, " Let this Lamb have anything to do with this marriage ; " and then this Lamb shall marry me for ever ; which is our last circum-

who " was a murderer, which took away the thought more sins into the blood of this Lamb and I (these are the pe here is the action.

marriage, not the privation of his Spirit; and a good marriage: not as when Christ married in a Church here; as in soul to Christ in the : but this is a marriage

gregation, where all my eyes of all the world all see all my unclean my tergiversations, and able dealings in God's

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eternity is a great part of the essence of that marriage. Consider then, how poor and needy a thing are the riches of this world, how flat and tasteless are the pleasures of this world, how pallid, and faintly dilute a thing all the honours of this world are, the very treasure, and joy, and glory of heaven were imperfect, if it were not eternal, and my marriage shall be too, *in æternum*, for ever.

The angels were not married so; they incur irreparable divorce from God, and are separated ever, and I shall be married to him *in æternum* ever. The angels fell in love, when there was no object presented, before anything was created, there was nothing but God and themselves; they loved with themselves, and neglected God, and so *in æternum*, for ever. I shall see all the beauty, the glory of all the saints of God, and love them and know that the Lamb loves them too, no jealousy, on his part, or theirs, or mine, and so married *in æternum*, for ever, without interruption, diminution, or change of affections. I shall see black as sackcloth of hair, and the moon become blood, and the stars fall as a fig-tree casts her figs, and the heavens rolled up together as a scroll. I shall see a divorce between princes and their wives, between nature and all her elements, between the spheres and all their intelligences; between God himself and all her forms, and my marriage shall be *in æternum*, for ever. I shall see an end of faith to be believed that I do not know; and an end

nothing to be wished that I do not enjoy, but no end of that love in which I am married to the Lamb for ever. Yea, I shall see an end of some of the offices of the Lamb himself: Christ himself shall be no longer a mediator, an intercessor, an advocate, and yet shall continue a husband to my soul for ever. Where I shall be rich enough without jointure, for my husband cannot die: and wise enough without experience, for no new thing can happen there: and healthy enough without physic, for no sickness can enter; and (which is by much the highest of all) safe enough without grace, for no temptation that needs particular grace can attempt me. There, where the angels, which cannot die, could not live, this very body which cannot choose but die, shall live, and live as long as that God of life that made it. Lighten our darkness, we beseech thee, O Lord, that in thy light we may see light: illustrate our understandings, kindle our affections, pour oil to our zeal, that we may come to the marriage of this Lamb, and that this Lamb may come quickly to this marriage: and in the mean time bless these thy servants, with making this secular marriage a type of the spiritual, and the spiritual an earnest of that eternal, which they and we, by thy mercy, shall have in the kingdom which thy Son our Saviour hath purchased with the inestimable price of his incorruptible blood. To whom, &c.

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses, which are arranged in a columnar fashion. The names are written in a cursive script, and the addresses are written in a more formal, printed style. The list includes names such as "John Doe", "Jane Smith", and "Robert Brown", along with their respective addresses.

2. The second part of the document is a series of short, handwritten notes or entries. These notes are written in a cursive script and are arranged in a columnar fashion. They appear to be a continuation of the list or a separate set of entries.

3. The third part of the document is a series of short, handwritten notes or entries. These notes are written in a cursive script and are arranged in a columnar fashion. They appear to be a continuation of the list or a separate set of entries.

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VI :



THE INTRODUCTION OF THE VISITATION OF THE SICK.

[THOMAS COMBER, D.D.]

I. IT is agreeable enough to the changeable state of things in this uncertain world, that so dolorous an office as this should immediately succeed the festival of holy matrimony, for our delights are short and expire; and sometimes, before our nuptial crowns wither, they are wet with a shower of funeral tears. The eastern emperors thought it not incongruous to crown the stones for their sepulchre on the day of coronation.* And it would make our very mirth more innocent and holy, if, by casting an eye on this following form, we should call to mind that the next and longer scene must be calamitous. It is certain that sickness doth always, and every where, lie in wait for us; no place nor condition of life can secure us from it. Our bodies consist of contrary qualities, which are continually in war with one another; and whether heat or the cold, the dryness or the moisture come predominant, our health falls under the victory of triumphs; so that we began to be sick when we

* Dionys. Carthus. de 4. Noviss. art. xiv.

to live ^a; “as soon as we were born we began to draw to our end ^b;” and our whole life is but one continued sickness, alleviated with some lucid intervals, but ending in death at last. Alas! who can reckon the innumerable diseases that do infest us? The smallest part of our body may be the subject of smart or malady; a tooth or a nail, a finger or a toe, may breed vexation and disquiet to us. And any of the creatures that minister to our necessities may bring distempers on us. The fire that warms us, the water that cools us, the air we breathe in, the earth we tread upon, the food that allays our hunger, the drink that quenches our thirst, a fly or a gnat, may be the occasion of our sickness or our death. The consideration whereof makes it more to be admired that we are not always sick, than that we are so sometimes; and renders it a greater wonder that any are healthful, than that some are groaning under their infirmities. And doubtless, since men are so universally liable to sickness, that sooner or later, in some kind or other, all shall come into this estate, it must be the duty of every particular person to prepare for it; and it did well become the prudence and piety of the Church to provide a peculiar office for those in this condition. No man must forget that it will be his own lot, and all men are concerned to pity and take care of those who at present lie under this common calamity. The visitation of the sick, therefore, is a duty incumbent upon all; we must “re-member them that are thus afflicted, as being ourselves

^a “Quando natus est homo, ægrotare cœpit; quando mortuus est, ægrotare cœpit.”

also in the body," Heb. xiii. 3. We are liable to the same miseries, and likely to need the same compassion which we extend to others; we are members of the same body, and must all conspire to succour and restore a weak and wounded limb. Nature taught the Gentiles this, and the Emperor Adrian is recorded to have visited, not only his friends, but his soldiers, in their sickness, twice or thrice every day, and to have taken care they wanted nothing^a; from whence a learned man observes, that visiting the sick was in great repute at Rome, since it is so often mentioned in the Emperors' Lives; and the Wise Man affirms, it is the ready way to obtain love, Eccclus. vii. 35. But Christianity obligeth us to it by higher motives; St. James making it an act of religion (James, i. 27.), and David assures us, that he shall be blessed who visits the sick and needy, for God will comfort him in his sickness, and deliver him out of it, Psalm xli. 1, 2, 3. Yea, our Lord Jesus adds, that he will take this charity as done to his own person, and reward it at the last day with eternal glory, Matt. xxv. 34, 35. And who would not do so small a duty, which shall be requited with so great a recompence? The Jewish doctors reckon it among the principal acts of mercy, calling it an imitation of the Divine compassion, and a means to deliver from the flames of hell.^b The primitive Christians accounted the visiting the sick and weak brethren,

^a Dion. de Adriano, item Spartian. vit. Adr. p. 41. &c. "Apparet magni Romanos officii genus hoc æstimasse, cujus adeò frequens in Vitis Imperatorum mentio." *Casaub. notis. ibid.*

^b Lib. Musar. fol. 120. p. 1.

among the solemn exercises of religion^a; and the very women among them did punctually observe this piece of charity. But we are here to treat of visiting the sick in a stricter sense; namely, as it denotes the religious duties which the clergy are to perform to those who lie on their sick bed; for which use this office was composed: and therefore of this we must give a fuller account.

II. The original of this useful and pious duty need not be inquired after any further than that positive command of Holy Scripture, "Is any sick among you, let him call for the elders of the Church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord, and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up; and if he have committed sins, they shall be forgiven him," St. James, v, 14, 15. In which words we shall first note the authority prescribing this duty. Secondly, the particulars prescribed. Thirdly, the benefit to be had by observing thereof. First, the authority which prescribes this visitation of the sick is a positive divine command, delivered by an inspired Apostle; so that it is plainly instituted by God, and accordingly it was always practised in the Christian Church, as might be evidenced by many testimonies. The admonition of St. Polycarp to the elders, to visit all those that were weak^b, shows it was esteemed necessary in his days. And no doubt

^a "Aut imbecillus aliquis ex fratribus visitatur, aut sacrificium offertur, &c. . . . quidvis horum gravitatis, et sanctitatis, negotium est." *Tert. de cult. fœm.* lib. 2. cap. 11.

^b "Vbi est infirmus, ibi est et debilis." *Polycarp.*

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that solemn company in Tertullian, who went to visit the infirm, were led by a bishop or priest.^a Possidonius affirms also concerning St. Austin, that when he was called to the sick, he went without delay^b; and it seems by one of his tracts, he writ to those whom he could not personally come to see^c, as St. Hierom also did in an epistle to one of his sick friends.^d But it hath been so evidently the practice of the Christian Church in all ages to do this, that I will not multiply instances of a known matter, especially since persons of all persuasions agree in this, that the sick ought to be visited by the ministers of religion^e; both Romanists and Protestants being sufficiently convinced by this plain command of Holy Scripture. The Jews have no express command in all the Old Testament, and yet their Rabbies are very careful to visit those of their nation whensoever sickness seizeth on them^f; and this diligence will condemn our sloth, if we, who have the precepts, do neglect this duty, so unquestionably joined by divine authority.

III. The second consideration is, What things are prescribed in this matter? Namely, First, the proper time for it. Secondly, the particulars of which it consists; being the several duties, 1. Of the sick, and 2. Of the priest; on each of which somewhat is to be said. First, the time is here noted to be, "when we are sick among us." The state of sickness is

^a Tertul. ad Uxor. lib. 2.

^b Possidon. Vit. S. August.

^c Aug. de Visit. Infirm. lib. duo. tom. ix. p. 207.

^d Hieron. Epist. 7. tom. 9. p. 60.

^e Dionys. Carthus. de 4. Noviss. artic. 8. Melch.

Theodor. Snepsii, p. 591. Clichtov. Doctrin. Mor. p. 49.

^f Buxtorf, Synagog. cap. 35.

to all men ; Christians as well as others are liable to it ; there are among us, as well as among others, many sick and weak ; and when any members of the Christian Church are thus visited, then is the proper time for this religious office, and that for these reasons : 1. Because then the parties have most need of it. Sickness is the harbinger of death, and death the forerunner of judgment ; when, therefore, the day of our great account draws so nigh, then, if ever, it is time to regard our never-dying souls, and to call in all the help we can to assist us in preparing for our last reckoning. Then we have the greatest work to do, and the least strength in ourselves to do it, and so had need to call in that holy man to our aid, whom God hath set to watch for our souls ; especially considering the last part of our combat is usually the sharpest, and our enemies grow fiercest when we are least able to endure the shock. 2. This office is most fit to be done in sickness ; because then the parties may be most likely to profit by it. The greatest part of men are, in the time of health, so entangled in care or involved in business, so hardened by sin and so drenched in pleasures, that they have neither leisure nor inclination to think seriously of heaven, or to discourse with the holy man about the state of their souls, and the matters of eternity. But sickness usually tames our lusts and calms our passions, moderates our desires and allays our pride, make us serious and gentle, divests us of our business and our cares, fills us with holy meditations and good purposes, and therefore puts us into the best frame to consider of these things.* In the days

well as others are liable: as among others, many members of the Christian Church proper time for this reason: 1. Because that. Sickness is the harbinger of judgment; and great account draws regard our never-dying we can to assist us in. Then we have the great strength in ourselves to that holy man to our aid for our souls; especially our combat is usually: grow fiercest when we are. 2. This office is a cause then the patient. The greatest part of us, so entangled in sin and hardened by sin, we have neither hope of heaven, or a moderate state of their sickness usually moderates our desires and gentle, therefore puts us in things. In the monuit, optimos esse

of prosperity, men put the evil day far from them, and give no great heed to discourses of such matters as the fancy are many years distant from them; but when disease assures them death is very nigh, and they perceive they stand upon the brink of eternity; when they are about to take leave of this world, so that shortly nothing will be left to them but their own souls and the God to whom they are going^a; then they grow tender and capable of good counsel, and one word will work more than a thousand would do before. And since men are so seldom in this pious temper, it is great pity this blessed opportunity should be lost, for it may be of eternal advantage to them to meet with a discreet and religious guide in that happy season, when all the powers of their souls are disposed for repentance, and the choice of virtue; wherefore the Lord hath ordered and the Church appointed, the priest shall do this office then, when there are so fair probabilities of success and for this reason we must further note, that God requires this office be performed before the sickness have prevailed too far. *Ἀσθενεῖ τις*. "Is any infirm," saith St. James. The word signifies the first impairing of our health and strength, and the beginning of a disease before it be come to that height as to force us to keep our beds; for the Apostle hath a peculiar word for that in the next verse, *τὸν κἀμνοντα*. The prayer of faith shall save even him that lies on his bed, through the extremity of his disease^b; that is, we must send when

^a "Omnibus vanus è medio subductis, ipsi morientes se et illud tantum considerant, cui propinquant." *Gregor. moral.* 24.

^b "Omnino distinguendum est inter *ἀσθενεῖ*, ver. 14. et *κἀμνοντα* ver. 15. Ut et Versiones Lat. observ. Vatab. et Bez., Infirmus et laborans; Syr. Paraph., Infirmus et ægrotus."

we begin to grow infirm; and if we do that, then although the disease should proceed so far as to deprive us of our strength, yet these holy prayers shall restore us, if God see health be good for us; or, however, they shall procure our pardon. And I would press this early sending the more earnestly, because of that impious and foolish humour of many sick persons, who put this off to the last scene of their life, and defer the use of this divine remedy, till it is impossible it should do them any good; for when the body is incapable of recovery, to pray for restoration is to mock the Almighty; and when the understanding and memory fail, and the senses cease to do their offices, what advantage can we do to any man's soul, more than by expressing our own charity? So that the office then is almost done in vain, because it can neither contribute to the sick man's recovery, nor his pardon, which were the great ends of its institution. The learned Clichtovæus complains that there "were many who lay dangerously sick, and yet when their friend advised them to send for the priest, they took it heinously and very unkindly, as if there were no hopes of life for them."^a I am sure the Wise Man adviseth us first to set our souls right, and afterwards to give place to the physician of the body.^b And among the ancient constitutions of this Church, the same method is enjoined: "We strictly charge the bodily physicians," saith the canon, "that when they happen to be called to the sick, they do before all things persuade them to send for the physician of souls,

that when care is taken for the sick man's spirit, they may more successfully proceed to the remedies of outward medicines^a;" which course, if it were observed still, in sending for the priest first, it would be better for the souls and bodies of sick persons. We do therefore detest that wretched proverb, *Ubi desinit Medicus ibi incipit Theologus*, which, with the evil custom of deferring this office to the last, seem to have had their original from the Popish device of making extreme unction a sacrament, only to be ministered to dying persons. But we do advise all men to perform this duty while their mind and their senses are entire, and their body able to perform its part; for a languishing person, and one in the agonies of death, can neither search his heart, nor try his ways, confess his faith, express his repentance, nor declare his charity, as he ought to do, who desires to die well; he can neither join in the prayers nor improve the counsel of his spiritual physician; and therefore must do it betimes, if he would do it well.

IV. The particular duties follow. And first, the sick man is here commanded "to send for the elders of the Church." He must not stay till the priest comes, who perhaps knows not of the distemper, nor when his visit may be seasonable, and the party in good frame to join with him; and it is an argument of men's pride and contempt of holy things, when they think them not worth the asking for, and expect to find them without seeking. Wherefore the sick man is to call for,

^a Constit. Richard. Ep. Sarum An. 1217. ap. Spelm. Concil. tom. 2.

that is, in the scripture phrase, to invite the elders^a; it being the observation of an old English council, that the precept is given to the sick man, who is commanded to send speedily for the priest^b; nor do the ancient canons oblige the clergy to go, “unless they be humbly requested thereto.” I confess it is an excellent charity in the minister to go whether he be sent for or no^c; but that is more than is strictly required at his hands. However, upon the least intimation, they must go speedily; and if the sick man be prejudiced by the priests’ neglect, they are highly culpable; insomuch that, of old, such priests were punished by suspension for this crime?^d And good reason; for since they are the only persons commissioned for this office, if they neglect it upon due notice, it cannot be done at all. St. James commands to send, not for ordinary Christians, but for the elders of the Church, which was the name that the Jews had used for any sort of ruler; (Exodus xvii. 5, 6.); Numbers xxii. 7.; and in the beginning of Christianity, while yet there was no other orders but bishops and deacons, the bishops, who were intrusted with the ruling part and principal administrations, were called elders, as the fathers do observe.^e To the bishops therefore, or elders, the visitation of the sick did at first solely belong, till they assigned it to

^a Καλεῖν hoc modo sig. Matt. xxii. 3.

^b “Infirmis tamen præceptum est, ut pro sacerdote confestim mittant.” *Synod. Exon.* c. 5. An. 1287.

^c “. . . Etiam non vocati invisant.” *Concil. 1. Mediol. ap. Bin.* tom. 4. p. 2. pag. 364.

^d “Si eorum culpâ sine officiis his moritur quis, sacerdos suspendatur.” *Syn. Exon. ut supra. Spelm. Concil.* tom. 2.

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the priests, whom they took in to their assistance, v
the number of the faithful was increased; and now
the Church is settled, the people have very great
veniency hereby, having always a priest near th
who is ready upon all occasions to be sent unto, an
now qualified to perform this office. And though
private friend may privately pray for us and wit
in our sickness, yet we cannot have so much com
from or confidence in their prayers, as in those of
priest, who is the very person whom God hath cl
for this employment; and because he hath bid him
in this case, he will be most likely to hear his pr
Secondly, here is set down the priest's duty in
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one great part of whose office it is to pray for th
people. In preaching, they are God's ambassa
us; in praying, they are our ambassadors to God
therefore, are the persons we must employ.
the place where this duty is to be done, it is r
that phrase, "pray over him;" which implies, th
must go to him, who now is not able to come
house, and he must pray there beside him in
house. As to the form of prayer to be used
occasion, it is left to the prudence of the Chur
God hath only in general ordered prayers to
but not prescribed any particular words:
several churches have made and used sever

proper for this occasion. The Greek Church have a very large office in their Euchologion, which seems to have been much corrupted by the superstitious additions of latter ages, though some of the ancient prayers may yet be discerned there. The most ancient of the Western Church, are those which bear the names of St. Ambrose and St. Gregory, and that which Cardinal Bona cites with this title, *pro infirmis*, written above nine hundred years ago, and supposed to be part of the old Gallican service.^a And upon the Reformation, the several Protestant churches had their several forms, which are in use among them at this day. But doubtless an impartial eye must needs discern that this office of the Church of England doth excel all that now are extant in the world, as will more fully appear, when we come to the particular explication thereof. At present we will only note that our office doth exactly agree with the method of the primitive visitation of the sick in St. Chrysostom's time, who, speaking of the benefits done to the people by the priest, saith, "he helpeth not only in health, but sickness; not only by teaching and exhortation, but also by prayers doth he help them; for not only in baptism, but afterwards also, he hath power of remission of sins, according to that, 'Is any sick among you,'" &c.^b Where we may see the parts of this office now in use were practised to the sick then, namely, instruction, exhortation, prayers, and absolution; all which are so comfortable and so necessary for such

^a Bona de Rebus Liturg. lib. 1. cap. 15.

^b Οὐ τὸ διδάσκειν μόνον καὶ νοουθετεῖν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ δι' εὐγῶν βοηθεῖν· οὐ

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as are thus visited, that the priest must by no
omit this office, when there is occasion for it; and
ciently it was enjoined to all parish priests to study
prayers, so that they might always have them
whensoever they were called to use them.*

Object. But some will say, Is not the priest
manded also to anoint them with oil in the name o
Lord?

Answer. All the Protestant churches do omit
anointing for very just reasons, because it was o
ceremony proper to the state of the primitive Ch
while miraculous gifts lasted, among which is reck
the gift of healing, 1 Cor. xii. 28. 30. Now,
Christ sent his Apostles first to preach, he gave
the miraculous power of healing, in the exercise wh
they used oil (Mark vi. 13.), which they did in imit
of the Jews, who (as a learned doctor notes out o
Targum of Hierusalem) were wont to preten
cure the sick by anointing them with oil, and
nouncing divers strange names; wherefore the Ap
used the same oil, but only used it in the nam
Jesus, to show that by his grace and power the
were healed, thereby to convince men that he wa
Messiah, and to induce them to believe the Gospel
therefore St. James, writing while this gift rem
mentions the ceremony of anointing in the name o
Lord; but yet he attributes no virtue at all to th
but saith, "the prayer of faith shall save the sick
And accordingly we see the Apostles did not a
use oil in their miraculous cures, but healed th

15. καὶ τῶ δὲ ἐὼς τὴν ἡμέραν

* Constit. Riculf. Arch. Snession. An 889. an. Rin. tom. 3. 1

sometimes only by a word^a, sometimes by a touch^b, and sometimes by laying on their hands.^c But we never read they used this anointing to confer grace to the soul, but health to the body; nor did they use it to persons in the agonies of death, as the Roman Church now do their novel sacrament of extreme unction, which can be derived no higher (as they now use it) than the time of Felix IV., bishop of Rome, an. 528. It is true there is frequent mention of miraculous cures wrought by the Christians, with this ceremony of anointing, in ecclesiastical history: so Proculus cured the emperor Severus^d; so the Egyptian confessors restored the lame man^e; so Saint Hilarion healed those that were bitten with serpents, and such as were sick of other distempers^f; so Saint Martin restored a dumb man to speech.^g But none of these were a sacramental unction to dying men, as Baronius himself confesseth^h, but only a means to procure health; or rather, the anointing was merely used with the gift of healing (as Theophylact affirms) to be “a symbol of the mercy of God, and the grace of his Spirit, by which our pains are eased, and light and joy is communicated to us.”ⁱ But now that the Church is planted, and that it neither needs nor enjoys the gift of healing (to which the oil was a ceremonial appendix), with what reason can we retain the shadow when the substance is gone? Nay, is it not a bold and unreasonable thing in the Roman

^a Acts, ix. 34. 40. and xiv. 10.

^b Chap. iii. 7. 16. and xx. 10.

^c Chap. ix. 17. and xxviii. 8.

^d Tertul. ad Scap. l. 1. cap. 4.

^e Ruffin. Eccles. Hist. l. 2. cap. 4.

^f Hieron. Vit. S. Hilarion, tom. 1. p. 332. 336.

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word^a, sometimes by a laying on their hands.^c But is anointing to confer grace on the body; nor did they use it of death, as the Roman Ceremony of extreme unction, (as they now use it) the Pope of Rome, an. 528. mentions of miraculous cures, with this ceremonial history: so Proculus^d so the Egyptian confessor Saint Hilarion healed serpents, and such as were cured by Saint Martin restored: none of these were a sacrament to procure health; or rather, it was with the gift of healing, "a symbol of the mercy of the Spirit, by which our consolation is communicated to the afflicted, and that it is a symbol of healing (to which we are entitled), with what reason can we say substance is gone? a reasonable thing in the Bible."

Church to make a sacrament of this temporary; and though they cannot cure the body, to pretend they can sanctify the soul, and pardon of sin, and send the party safe to eternity thereby? What primitive father ever affirmed concerning this unction? Irenæus, indeed the Valentinian heretics anointed dying men with oil and water, using strange words, and pretending to secure their souls against evil spirits, and that they might ascend more easily^a; which heresy the Romanists in this matter do come nearer to than any rite found among the primitive and apostolic fathers, and therefore we have good reason to reject this practice: and though about the ninth century it began to be imposed in these parts of the world, we suppose we may safely omit the ceremony, especially since we keep the substantial offices prescribed by Saint James, viz. prayer, confession of sin, and absolution, which is also all that is made appear to have been used to the sick in the first five centuries (excepting where miraculous cures were wrought). And these are alone sufficient for the comfort and relief of poor languishing Christians, without the addition of that ceremonial oil, which is only a symbol of a gift which the Church doth not possess, and therefore can be of no real use at this visitation of the sick; and we dare not abuse the ceremony to put a new signification of our own devotion, nor make them expect that from it which

^a Chap. iii. 7. 16. and 17.
^b Tertul. ad Scap. l. 1. c. 5.

^a Irenæus. adv. Hæres. lib. 1. cap. 18.

^b Concil. Cabilon. iii. cap. 48. An. 813. Lin. tom. 1.

^c P. 332. 336.
^d Baron. Annal. An. C. vi. 13.

never find ; for we had rather lay it aside than use it to vain and evil purposes.

V. The third general consideration is, the benefits of this office, which the Apostle sets down, ver. 15. "The prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up ; and if he have committed sins, they shall be forgiven him." The benefits were to be perpetual, though the anointing was but for a time ; and therefore they are annexed to the prayer, which was to be perpetual also. Now these benefits are two : First, generally implied in the word "save ;" and then particularly expressed, 1. by the word "raise him up," a scripture phrase for the recovery of bodily health. Psalm. xli. ver. 10. ; Hos. vi. 2. 2. By the "forgiving him his sins." So that the benefits are two : first, the recovery of health ; secondly, the remission of sins ; both which may be obtained by the devout use of these prayers : not that they do as constantly and certainly follow as the effects from natural causes ; for then the sick would always have been cured by this office, and none could have died, which is contrary to nature and God's decree (Heb. ix. 27.) : and then even hypocrites should thereby obtain remission, which is contrary to God's declared will. They are therefore conditional promises, so that health shall be procured hereby if God see fit, and pardon granted also, upon condition of the parties confessing and repenting ; which is therefore enjoined in the very next verse, "Confess your faults," &c. The sum is, that though mortal men cannot expect immortality here, nor sinners pardon without repent-

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qualified for remission, God hath appointed this to be the means to convey both. And since the main things which sick men desire is ease of conscience and forgiveness of their sin, and this is a divine institution to obtain both, this shows how every sick man ought to be, to have this office performed to him, and how highly he ought to esteem them, neglecting in the mean time to perform the duties required on his part, viz. submission to the will of God for life or death, and a hearty repentance for his sins; and he that is prepared for it shall recover, if it be for his good to live longer; however, he shall have his pardon sealed, and then he need not be anxious whether God order him to live or die, but shall be happy either in life or death, and either of these shall work together for his good. Finally, the visitation of the sick is of divine institution, of excellent use; and that it may have all those blessings upon us, which God designed to us thereby, we descend to a particular view of all the parts of it. First we have considered the method of the whole.

ON THE CONFESSION OF SINS.

[ARCHBISHOP SHARP.]

POPISH AND PROTESTANT DOCTRINES CONCERNING CONFESSION EX-
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PROV. xxviii. 13.

*that covereth his sins shall not prosper. But whoso
 onfesseth them, and forsaketh them, shall find mercy.*

THESE words contain a very full though a very short
 cription (and by how much the shorter so much
 hink the better) of true repentance; such a re-
 tance as God would accept: and that first, nega-
 ly, in what it doth not consist, or rather is not
 sistent with it; and that in the former part of the
 e, “He that covereth his sins shall not prosper.”
 d secondly, positively, in what it doth consist;
 that in these two things, confessing our sins, and
 aking them. “Whoso confesseth and forsaketh them
 l find mercy.”

Repentance, however it may appear to some as a
 le duty, yet, in truth, it is one full half of all that

of the new covenant is comprised in these two things; namely, "repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ," (Acts, xx. 21.) as the Apostle has declared.

It must therefore be of infinite consequence, that we all be rightly instructed in the nature of repentance, since there is so great stress laid upon it. If we take false measures in this point, it is as much as our souls are worth. And yet as things go in the world, though nothing be more plainly and fully declared in the Holy Scriptures than the nature of this repentance, as to all the branches of it, so that no man of but tolerable parts, that will bring an honest mind along with him, can easily miss of rightly informing himself from thence of all that he is concerned to know about this duty; yet, I say, as matters now stand, there is scarce any doctrine of religion more obscured, more misrepresented, more distorted and corrupted, even to the great peril of the souls of men, than this doctrine of repentance is.

Some men there are, who, for the advancing the authority of the clergy, and the more fully establishing their empire over the consciences of men; as likewise for the enriching themselves by other men's sins, and at the same time making the consciences of those that pay for it as easy and as quiet as may be: I say, they have found out God knows how many devices as to this business of repentance, which the writers of the Scripture never knew of; nay, which indeed are directly contrary to their sense and meaning. And such devices they are, too, that at the same time they

both perplex the consciences of the more scrupulous sort of men, and also give too much encouragement to the vices and excesses of those that are loosely given.

The Wise Man here in the text tells us, that "whoso confesseth his sins, and forsaketh them, shall find mercy." This is both plain enough, and home enough; and this same notion of repentance is all along inculcated both in the Old and New Testament; and no other but this. Every where a contrite confession of our sins to God, and a forsaking them, are thought enough to denominate a sinner a true penitent, and to entitle him to the mercies of God. And on the other side, whoever doth not come up to this; whoever doth not both these, is not qualified for God's mercies. The one without the other will not be sufficient. If a man confess, but doth not forsake, his sins are yet upon him; he is not in the state of a true penitent. On the other side, though a man do forsake his sins, if he do not confess them (which, indeed, it is hardly to be supposed that a man can do;) yet still his repentance is imperfect. It is not that repentance to which God, in his revelations to mankind, has made any promise of mercy and forgiveness. Both these things therefore are necessary, and where they do concur, they are all that is necessary.

But now the present doctrines of the Church of Rome concerning this matter of repentance, are quite of another strain, as will appear by these three of them which I shall take occasion from my text to examine.

1. First of all, they teach, that a man is not only to

also to a priest; otherwise they will not be forgiven him. And when he doth thus make his confession, he is bound to discover not only all his mortal sins that, upon strict examination of himself, he can remember, but also the circumstances of them.

2. Secondly, whereas it is here said, that he that confesseth and forsaketh his sins, shall, without more ado, find mercy; that is, his sins shall be forgiven him; they teach quite otherwise: for a man, according to them, may confess his sins and forsake them too, and yet they shall not be forgiven him, unless he make satisfaction for them over and above. They grant, indeed, that upon his confession to a priest, and receiving absolution from him, the eternal punishment due to his sins is remitted; but yet there is a very terrible temporal punishment to be undergone, either in this life or the next; which punishment the sinner cannot be freed from, unless he either in his own person, or some other for him, do make a complete satisfaction to the divine justice.

3. Thirdly, whereas by the words of our text one would think that forsaking of sin was as necessary to the finding mercy as confession, and that one without the other would not be available for the procuring any man's pardon; they teach quite otherwise (if not directly, yet by consequence). For, according to their definitions, if a man do but devoutly and contritely confess to a priest, and receive his absolution, he is presently put into the state of God's favour, so far as that he shall not suffer eternally for his sins, but at last go to heaven; though in the mean time he do not

sake his sins till his dying day: though, as I said
 ore, if he have not made satisfaction, he must for a
 g time be kept in purgatory.

These are the Popish corruptions and innovations
 this matter of repentance that we all complain of,
 I think we have just reason so to do. And these
 nions and doctrines are not only taught by private
 1 among them, but are partly the express definitions
 heir general council of Trent, (which, with them, is
 hority never to be opposed and contradicted,) and
 tly they are the undeniable consequences and re-
 s of what they have there decreed and declared
 cerning the sacrament of penance.

Of these three points I come to give an account:

I begin with their doctrine of confession; which I
 the more desirous to insist upon, because really
 ral among ourselves are apt enough to think that
 Church of Rome hath the advantage of us in this
 ter. And it is made a pretence by some, why they
 e left our communion, namely, that in our Church
 want the benefit of private confession, which in
 Church of Rome is strictly enjoined.

Now my business is to lay this matter plainly before
 ; to state both their doctrine and ours in this point
 onfession; and then, I dare say, it will easily ap-
 which Church is to be preferred upon this ac-
 t.

First, then, I shall show, how far we of the re-
 ed religion do allow of confession of sins unto

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Rome is, that we find fault with in this matter, and
what reasons it is justly blameable.

I. First, then, I shall plainly lay before you what
it is we teach as to this matter of confessing sins
men, whether priests or others. All the sins that
be confessed will fall under some of these three heads
they are either such whereby God is offended, and
only ; or they are such whereby some particular man
is injured, as well as God offended ; or, lastly, they
such whereby scandal is given to the public society
Christians where we live, though no particular man
injured by them.

Now, as to each of these kinds of sins, let us examine
what confession to men is due.

1. And first of all, there is no doubt but that as to
all these sins that come under the second head I have
named, that is to say, all those sins whereby we
offended or injured our particular neighbours ; there is
no doubt, I say, that we are not only bound to confess
them to God, as being transgressors of his law
bound likewise to make satisfaction to our neighbour
for the injury we have done to them by them
that both by a penitential confession and an acknow-
ledgment of them, and, if that be not sufficient,
making such further reparations as the case requires.
This we are bound to do by the natural laws of
and equity : and our Saviour hath sufficiently
manifested his pleasure as to this in that precept
“ If thou bring thy gift to the altar, and
memberest that thy brother hath aught against thee,
leave there thy gift before the altar, and go

first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift." Matt. v. 23, 24. In which words he plainly teaches us, that it is not enough, when we have offended or affronted any person, to go and ask God forgiveness for it; but we are to go and reconcile ourselves to him, by acknowledging our faults, and making all such reparations as the injury requires; otherwise we are no ways capable of making our prayers to God for his forgiveness. Oh that we would all seriously think on this! If we did, it would not be possible for us to offer the least provocation, or to do the least injury to any man in the world. Or, if we were so foolish or so unhappy as to do it, we should not be able to take any rest till we had made him satisfaction. For I account no man can be able to rest quietly, who is not in a condition to say his prayers.

2. But, secondly, as to all those sins which come under the third head I mentioned; namely, sins which, though they do not injure any particular person, yet injure the public society of Christians, are an affront to the religion we profess, and give scandal to the Church; as to these sins, I say, not only our Church, but all other Protestant churches, do not only allow, but approve of confession unto men; even a public confession; a confession as open as the sins committed were. For instance, if any man deny the faith of Christ, or go over to an heretical communion; or, lastly, live in the open practice of any sin or sins that are notoriously repugnant to the laws of Christ's religion; such sins as St. Paul instanceth in, when he

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tt. v. 23, 24. In which re-
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"If any man who is

called a brother (that is a Christian) be a forni-
or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or a
tortioner, with such a one not so much as to
1 Cor. v. 11. As to such persons as these, I say,
is no Protestant church but doth highly approve
a public confession should be made in the face of
Church of those crimes by every penitent; that
this means satisfaction might be made to the Church
society which was so scandalised, and the offence
party may, as much as in him lies, undo all the
chief which his bad example had done to his fellow
christians.

And this, indeed, was the ancient practice of
Church of Christ, in the primitive times. Such a
was always then taken with scandalous offenders.
man was a known evil liver, if, upon admonition
did not reform his life, he was, without more ado
out of the communion of the faithful. And there
no way to obtain his readmission, but by a repentance
as public as his sin was. Nay, in those days, the
ing Christians, who had their hearts disposed to
penitance, were as forward of themselves to make
public confession, and to right the Christians whom
they had injured, as the Church was to require
them.

And this is that confession we so often read
ecclesiastical writers, and which they so much
as of necessity to repentance; namely, a public
fession of crimes, not that private whispering
into the ear of a confessor, which the Church of
bath now brought into the place of it.

It is true there is little of this to be seen in our times. A few footsteps are left of the ancient ecclesiastical discipline, and that is all. Whether ever it will be restored or no, God only knows. But it is the wish and the prayer of all good men, that it may be. Popery first corrupted the discipline of the Church; and happy had it been for us, if, when our first reformers took so much care to reduce doctrines of faith to the primitive standard, they had done the same as to our discipline. But, perhaps, it was not in their power. They sufficiently discover their good-will to it, in the preface of the commination office; where, having mentioned that "There was a godly discipline in the primitive Church that such persons as stood convicted of notorious sins were put to open penance, and punished in this world, that their souls might be saved in the day of the Lord; and that others, admonished by their examples, might be more afraid to offend;" they add, in the next sentence, "That it is heartily to be wished that this discipline may be restored." But till that be done, we must use such methods for bringing men to repentance as we can.

3. But, thirdly, all Protestants that I know of do not only require acknowledgment and confession of injuries to the injured person, as necessary to repentance, and approve of public confession of public sins in the face of the Church; but even as to private sins, whereby no particular man nor no society is injured, but only God offended; (which is the third sort of sins that I mentioned in the first place;) I say, as to these,

men, even private confession to men ; and more especially such confession as is made to those who are ministers. No one Protestant, so far as we can judge by the public declarations of their faith, is against private confession of sins to any good man, much less to a minister or pastor. Nay, they are so far from being against it, that they advise it, and recommend it in sundry cases as a most excellent instrument of repentance.

So that the Papists do very unjustly traduce and calumniate the Reformation, when they say that the Protestants are against private confession. There is no such thing. There is no Protestant Church but gives it that due esteem and regard that it ought to have. All that they have done is to regulate it, to set it upon its true basis and foundation ; which is done, not by requiring private confession as a thing necessary, but by exhorting men to it as a thing highly convenient in many cases. In all those instances where it can be useful, or serve any good purpose, it is both commended and seriously advised ; that is to say, where a sinner either needs direction and assistance for the overcoming some sin that he labours under ; or where he is so overwhelmed with the burden of his sins, that he needs the help of some skilful person to explain to him the terms of the Gospel, to convince him from the Holy Scriptures that his repentance (as far as a judgment can be made of it) is true and sincere, and will be accepted by God ; and, lastly, upon the full examination of his state, and his judgment thereupon, to give him the absolution of the Church. In all these

ases, no Protestant (that understands his religion) is against private confession. On the contrary, all the best writers of the Protestants, nay, all the public Confessions of the Protestants (which give an account of their faith) are mightily for it, and do seriously recommend it. Mr. Calvin hath fully expressed their sense as to this point.

“Let every faithful Christian (says he) remember, that when he is burdened and afflicted with the sense of his sins, that he cannot ease himself without the help of others, it is then his duty not to neglect that remedy which the Lord hath prescribed to him, viz. that, for the easing of himself, he resort to private confession with his pastor; and that for the gaining comfort to himself, he fetch in the assistance of him whose office it is both privately and publicly, to comfort the people of God by the doctrine of the Gospel. But yet this moderation is always to be used, that where God hath laid impositions, we should not lay impositions on our own consciences. Hence it follows, that this private confession ought to be free, and should not be required of all, but only recommended to those who have need of it.” Thus far Mr. Calvin; and in the same place, where he doth thus recommend private confessions, doth he also speak great things of the benefits of private absolution, in order to the easing and comforting afflicted consciences.

And this sense of his is the general sense of the Protestants abroad. If there be any difference among them, it is, that the Lutherans are more strict in re-

quiring private confession than either the French or Dutch Protestants are.

As for our own church, she has directly given her judgment in the matter, as we have now represented, viz. in the public exhortation which is to be read when notice is given of a Communion. There it is advised, that if there be any of the congregation “that cannot by other means quiet his own conscience, but requireth comfort or counsel, then he should come to some discreet and learned minister of God’s word and open his grief; that by the ministry of God’s holy word he may receive the benefit of absolution, together with ghostly counsel and advice, to the quieting of his conscience, and avoiding all scruple and doubtfulness.”

This is the doctrine of the Protestants concerning confession; and this, I think, may be justified to all the world.

II. But the Popish doctrine in this matter is quite of another strain, and serves to quite different purposes. Which, what it is, and upon what grounds we find fault with it, I come in the second place to show.

The Church of Rome, you are to know, have made repentance to be a sacrament, namely, the sacrament by which only sins committed after baptism are to be forgiven. And of this sacrament of repentance they have made three parts: 1. Contrition for sin. 2. Confession to a priest. 3. Satisfaction. Whoever performs these three things, upon the priest’s absolution, his sins are forgiven. And all these three conditions

(say they) are necessary to the obtaining pardon and reconciliation.

By confession, they mean, not confession to God, nor confession to our neighbour in case of injuries, nor confession to the Church in case of public notorious sins; but private confession to a priest, which is that they call auricular confession, because it is whispered into his ear. This is that confession they make a necessary part of repentance, and without which (supposing we have opportunity) sin is not forgiven.

I will give you their sense (as near as I can translate) in the words of two of their general councils, which have established it as a law among them. The first is, the council of Lateran: there it is ordered, "That every man and woman, after they come to years of discretion, should faithfully confess all their sins privately to their own priest, at least once in the year, and endeavour faithfully to perform the penance that is enjoined them; and after this they should come to the sacrament, at least at Easter, unless the priest, upon some reasonable cause, do judge it fit for them to abstain at that time. And whoever doth not perform this, he is to be excommunicated out of the Church; and if he die, he is not to be allowed Christian burial." Thus the council of Lateran, very modestly. But the council of Trent goes much farther, and clincheth the business as effectually as is possible: for they decree that, "Whoever shall affirm that this private confession to a priest was not instituted by Christ, and is by divine right necessary to salvation, let him be accursed." The

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ABP. SHARP.] THE CONFESSION OF SINS.

man, after diligent examination of himself, find
conscience to be burdened with, even those that
most secret, though they be only in thought or deed,
even all these are to be repeated to the priest in
fession; and not only the sins themselves, but also
circumstances of them, that may change the kind
the sin." And, to bind this the faster upon the
sciences of men, they have made this decree, that, "Who
soever shall say, that in the sacrament of penance,
not by divine law necessary, for the obtaining for
ness, to confess all and every mortal sin, which, after
diligent inquiry, a man can remember, even the
secret, together with the circumstances that change
kind of the sin; or shall say, that such confession
only of use for the directing or comforting the penitent,
but is not necessary, let every such man be accursed."

This is the plain avowed doctrine of the present
Church of Rome, as to confession. But we say it is
great error introduced into the doctrine of repentance
and of very ill consequence to the souls of men; and
appear by these three following things, which I shall
very briefly represent.

First, They here make a thing to be of Christ
stitution, and of necessity to salvation, that hath
manner of foundation in the Holy Scriptures, either
the Old or New Testament.

If they could but produce one text of the Bible
wherein it did appear that this auricular sacrament
confession of sins to a priest was recommended, either
by our Lord, or his Apostles; or one text wherein
did appear that it was practised by any Christian,

of the clergy or laity, in any instance; or, last text, whereby it doth appear that it was so mentioned or thought on by the holy men of that time; I say, if they could produce any one Scripture for the proof of any of these things, they would do something: but we are sure they cannot. And therefore to impose private confession, as a necessary condition of repentance upon all the Christian world, under pain of damnation, that is intolerable. One text there is indeed, they make a great noise of, and it looks, at first sight, plausibly to their purpose, but, upon examination, it will be found nothing to their purpose. It is in the fifth chapter of St. James's epistle, where the Apostle hath this passage: "Confess your sins one to another, that ye may be healed: for the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much."

But, first of all, it can never be made appear, that the confession which St. James here prescribes is to be understood of private confession to a priest; nay, to the contrary, it is manifest from the very words, that the Apostle speaks of such a confession as is mutual and reciprocal: "Confess your sins one to another." Which speech intimates that both parties are to confess; both the confessor and the confessed. But now it is not the usage of the Church for the confessors to confess to the people who confess to them. Furthermore, it is undeniably plain, that the Apostle doth not here speak of the sacramental confession of the Church of Rome, upon this account; that the end for which he recom-

or laity, in any instance; or, by it doth appear that it was thought on by the holy men, if they could produce any proof of any of these things: but we are sure they would impose private confession, of repentance upon all the sin of damnation, that is indeed, they make a great first sight, plausibly to their nation, it will be found nothing. It is in the fifth chapter of St. James hath this passage: "Let us confess our sins one to another, that our effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much."

what is this to the Popish confession? that is not so much to get cured, either of our sicknesses, by the prayers of him we pray to obtain the pardon of our sins, by recitation; which is quite another thing. It need further: as there is in Scripture no countenance, no mention of this sacramental private confession, so there is much against it. For the Scripture only prescribes other terms of forgiveness: it assures us of pardon and the mercy of God, upon "our confessing to God, and forsaking our iniquities without any more ado. David certainly never denied the necessity of auricular confession, when he saith these words in the thirty-second psalm, and the verse: "I acknowledged my sins unto thee, O Lord, and mine iniquities have I not hid. I said, I will confess my iniquity unto the Lord, and lo! thou forgavest me the iniquity of my sin." Upon his confessing his sin unto the Lord above, his sin was forgiven. And, lest we think that this was an extraordinary privilege reserved unto him, and such a one as others were not to expect, he adds further, "For this cause shall every one that is godly make his prayer unto thee at an acceptable time," ver. 11. To the same purpose John: "If we confess our sins, (meaning to confess to him the whole context restraineth it,) God shall forgive us our sins, and shall cleanse us from all unrighteousness."

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and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness," 1 John, i. 9. And thus again, if we can gather any thing from any parable of our Saviour's, we may certainly gather this from the parable he makes of the publican and Pharisee that went together into the Temple to pray, that, in order to the forgiveness of sins, God requires no more than an humble, sorrowful, and contrite heart, confessing what is past, and amending for the time to come, without respect to any external administration of confession to men. For it is plain that the publican (Luke, xviii. 13.), who is there made the example of a penitent sinner, upon his "smiting on his breast," and saying in private to God, "O God, be merciful to me a sinner," went away justified," that is, accepted of God, when the other was rejected. The same thing may be gathered from that other parable of the prodigal son.

It appears from what I have said (and much more might be said to this purpose) what little colour there is for this doctrine, that sacramental confession was instituted by Christ, and by him made necessary to true repentance, since from the Scriptures we see the quite contrary.

But the strength of the Romanists doth not lie, as at this point, in the Scripture, nor, indeed, in many other points, but in the multitude of vouchers which they pretend to have for their doctrine in antiquity. They give out, that this was the doctrine of the fathers, and the practice of the ancient Christians. Well, this we shall now consider in the second place.

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things: the first by way of confession. In the
 place, we grant that public confession of sins in
 face of the Church, especially of notorious and
 dulous sins, was much in use in the primitive Ch
 and was a constant part of the ancient discipline.
 grant also, that private confession of sins to a di
 minister, in order to the obtaining direction and co
 to the penitent, was both frequently recommende
 frequently practised in all times; but more espe
 after the public confessions grew into disuse.
 then, having granted this, we say, in the second
 that this makes nothing in the world to that conf
 which is now required in the Church of Rome; 1
 as to their auricular sacramental confession, we
 affirm these three things:—

(1.) First, That it was never enjoined or comm
 by any law of the Church, as a necessary duty i
 bent upon all Christians, till the council of La
 about four hundred years ago; which council wa
 same that established the doctrine of transubstanti
 and that other doctrine of deposing of princes i
 they were heretical. But this is not all. Even i
 council, this business of confession was only en
 as an ecclesiastical constitution, and not bound
 us by any law of God; and that was modest en
 in comparison of what came afterward. But
 wards came the council of Trent, almost in the m
 of our fathers; and that was the first council tha
 decreed private confession to a priest to be the
 nance of Christ, and necessary to salvation. So
 whatever boast the Romanists make of anti

their side as to this point, it is certain that auricular confession, as it now stands, was not a law of the church, or thought necessary, till within less than these hundred and fifty years.

(2.) But secondly, we will go further: it is certain, that it cannot be made to appear from any testimony of the ancient fathers, that confession of sins to a priest in private was ever looked upon as any more than a thing very advisable, and very useful in several cases, both for directing a man in the conduct of his religious life, and as a means for the obtaining comfort if he was under any affliction or perplexity.

(3.) But, thirdly, it is also certain, that the ancient fathers of the Christian Church were so far from thinking that private confession was an essential part of repentance; they were so far from thinking that it was instituted by Christ, and necessary to salvation (which is that which the Church of Rome now teaches), that they taught directly the contrary, as abundance of instances might be given, if this were a proper place. "What have I to do with men," saith St. Augustine, "that they should hear my confession, as though they could heal my disease?" St. Chrysostome, also, to the same purpose. "It is not necessary," says he, "that thou shouldst confess in the presence of witnesses; let the iniquity of thy offences be made in thy thoughts; let this judgment be made without a witness; let God only see thee confessing. Therefore I entreat and beseech you, that you would continually make your confessions to God; for I do not bring thee into the

thee to discover thy sins unto men. Unclasp thy conscience before God, and show thy wounds to him, and of him ask a medicine." And very many other passages he hath to this purpose.

Doth this, now, favour the Romish doctrine concerning confession? Doth it not directly contradict it? What shall we say? The council of Trent decrees, that "Whosoever shall affirm that confession of all our mortal sins to a priest (that we can remember) is not necessary to the obtaining forgiveness of them, shall be accursed." St. Augustine, St. Chrysostome, and many others, do point-blank affirm that this confession is not necessary, but that forgiveness may be had without it. Either, therefore, the Roman anathemas are of no force, nor to be regarded by us; or, if they be, St. Augustine and St. Chrysostome, and other such good men, are involved in them as deeply as we Protestants.

3. But then, thirdly and lastly: As they have neither Scripture nor ancient fathers on their side, so neither have they any colour of reason for this business of confession, as they have ordered it: for, whilst they teach that every man is bound to confess all his mortal sins, even the most secret, even the sins of his thoughts and desires, that, after the most diligent examination, he finds himself guilty of, and that if he do not so confess, he is not qualified for pardon; and whilst, on the other side, it is a most difficult matter for a penitent to know which of his sins are mortal and which are not, and likewise when it is he hath made a diligent examination of his own heart concerning his

is, and when he hath not; what a world of endless ruples and perplexities is every man almost, by this doctrine, led into? For, at this rate, what man can be assured that he hath confessed all his sins so particularly, so circumstantially, as he ought to do; or that he hath used that fidelity and care in examining his own conscience, that the law of Christ exacts from him? This is so true, that it was long ago observed by a famous man of their own, that, according to the cases, quiries, and conclusions that the casuists had made in this matter of confession, it was impossible for any man make a right confession.

But further: this is not the only evil consequence that follows upon that doctrine; for this mischief also attends it, that, according to this notion, not he that most truly repents him of his sins, and most endeavours to forsake them, is best qualified for the mercy of God; but he that most accurately repeats them to the confessor, and enumerates their several circumstances. For, let a man be never so much sorry for his sins, and ever so much endeavour to reform his life, yet, if he do not perform this part of the sacrament of penance, he is not in so safe a condition as that man is, who is less sorry for his sins, and doth less endeavour to forsake them, supposing he do but confess well to the priest, and receive his absolution.

Lastly, to conclude: As this confession is managed in the Church of Rome, it is so far from being a check or a bridle upon a man, to have a care of committing the same sins again, that he hath thus confessed, (which is

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gives a great encouragement for sinners to continu
their sins. For this being their doctrine, that w
ever a man is sorry for his sins, and confesseth the
the priest, and thereupon receiveth his absolution,
promise to perform the penance enjoined, the ma
doing doth that very moment receive remission,
the eternal punishment of his sins, and is put i
state of God's favour; what follows from hence
that the man may now, without scruple, or troubl
conscience, go on again in the same course of life?
his old sins are now washed away, and he begins
a new score; and it is but repeating his confession
getting a new absolution, and he is as safe as if h
never been a sinner. This is one of the natural
sequences of this doctrine; and that a great ma
the Roman communion do frequently reduce this
practice, is too evident to be denied.

And now I do appeal to all men that will impar
consider these things, that I have now repre
(and I am sure I have faithfully represented m
as they stand on both sides) whether their doctri
ours have the better foundation; whether our do
be not much more agreeable to the Scriptures,
son, and to the primitive practice; more tending
ease, and peace, and comfort, and more to the edifi
of souls, than their doctrine is.

Let all of us, therefore, when we find ourselv
dened with the weight of our sins, apply to God
unburden ourselves of them by confession to him

THE CONFESSION OF SINS. [ABP. SHARP.

need either advice, or assistance, or direction, or comfort, we may call in the assistance of pious and discreet ministers; nay, we ought in prudence to do so, and we are wanting to ourselves if we do not: but, the confession that is necessary to the obtaining of pardon, must ever be understood of confession to God. Whosoever humbly and sorrowfully confesses his sins to him, and endeavours to forsake them, such a man shall find pardon, whether he confess to men or no.

This is the Protestant doctrine; and let us all adhere to it, and practise it.

And God Almighty give us grace, that we may no longer "cover our sins," but with humble and penitent hearts "confess them and forsake them." So shall we receive mercy through Jesus Christ, &c.

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ON THE FORGIVENESS OF SINS.

[BISHOP PEARSON.]

THIS article hath^a always been expressly contained and acknowledged in the Creed, as being a most necessary part of our Christian profession; and for some ages it immediately followed the belief of the holy Church^b, and was therefore added immediately after it to show that the remission of sins was to be obtained in the Church of Christ.^c For being the creed at first

^a Therefore Carolus Magnus, in his *Capitular*, l. 3. c. 6. inveighs against Basilius, the bishop of Ancyra, because in his confession of faith which he delivered in the second council of Nice (Act. 1.), he omitted the remission of sins, which the Apostles in so short a compendium the Creed would not omit: "Hanc Apostoli in collatione fidei, quam invicem discessuri quasi quandam credulitatis et prædicationis normam statuerunt, post confessionem Patris et Filii et Spiritûs Sancti posuimus, præhibentur; et in tanti verbi brevitate, de quo per prophetam dictum est, *Verbum abbreviatum faciet Dominus super terram*, hanc ponere minime distulerunt, quia sine hac fidei sinceritatem integram esse minime possent sperare. Nec cohibuit eos ab ejus professione illius Symboli brevitas, quam exposcebat sacræ fidei integritas, tantique doni veneranda sublimitas."

^b "Concordant autem Angeli nobiscum etiam tunc cum remittuntur nostra peccata. Ideo post commemorationem S. Ecclesiæ in oratione Confessionis ponitur Remissio peccatorum: per hanc enim stat Ecclesiæ quæ in terris est, per hanc non perit, quod perierat et inventum est." *Aug. Enchir.* c. 64. § 17. And to this purpose it is in his book, *Agone Christiano*, passing from one article to another with this general transition; after that of the Church, he proceedeth with these words "Nec eos audiamus, qui negant Ecclesiam Dei omnia peccata peccata dimittere." cap. 31. § 33. So it followeth also in Venantius Fortunatus and in such other creeds as want that part of the former article of communion of saints.

^c Orig. Hom. 2. in Genesin. "Sanctam Ecclesiam teneat . . . in

was made to be used as a confession of such as were to be baptized, declaring their faith in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, in whose name baptism was administered; they propounded unto them the Holy Church, into which by baptism they were to be admitted, and “the forgiveness of sins,” which by the same baptism was to be obtained; and therefore in some creeds it was particularly expressed*, “I believe one baptism for the forgiveness of sins.”

Looking thus upon this article, with this relation, we find the sense of it must be this, that we believe “forgiveness of sins” is to be obtained in the Church of Christ. For the explication whereof it will be necessary, first, to declare what is the nature of “remission of sins,” in what that action doth consist; secondly, to show how so great a privilege is propounded in the Church, and how it may be procured by the members of the Church. That we may understand the notion of

remissio peccatorum et carnis resurrectio prædicabatur.” *Ruffin. in Amb.* “Sed neque de ipsis criminibus quamlibet magnis remittendis in Ecclesia Dei misericordia desperanda est.” *S. Aug. Enchir. c. 65. § 17. remissionem peccatorum.* “Hæc in Ecclesia si non esset, nulla spes esset. Remissio peccatorum si in Ecclesia non esset, nulla futuræ vitæ liberationis æternæ spes esset. Gratias agimus Deo qui Ecclesiæ suæ dedit hoc donum.” *Author. Homil. 119. de Tempore. cap. 8.* “Quia guli quique cæstus Hæreticorum se potissimum Christianos, et suam e Catholicam Ecclesiam putant; sciendum est illam esse veram, in qua religio, confessio, et pœnitentia, quæ peccata et vulnera, quibus est obiecta imbecillitas carnis, salubriter curat.” *Lactant. de Vera Sap. l. 4. 30.*

* These are the words of the Constantinopolitan creed: ‘Ὁμολογῶ ἐν βαπτισμῷ εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. Before which Epiphanius, in his lesser creed: ‘Ὁμολογοῦμεν ἐν βάπτισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν in the larger, Πιστεύομεν εἰς μίαν Καθολικὴν καὶ Ἀποστολικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ εἰς βάπτισμα μετάνοιαν. in Ancorato. § 120, 121. S. Cyril both these together: Εἰς τὸ βάπτισμα μετάνοιαν εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. Pelegrinus Laureac. Episc.: credo unum Baptismum in remissionem omnium peccatorum.” Sym-

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"forgiveness of sins," three considerations are requ
First, What is the nature of sin which is to be forg
Secondly, What is the guilt or obligation of sin, w
wanteth forgiveness. Thirdly, What is the remi
itself, or the losing of that obligation.

As the power of sin is revealed only in the S
tures, so the nature of it is best understood from the
And though the writings of the Apostles give us
definitions, yet we may find, even in them, a pr
definition of sin. "Whosoever committeth sin tr
gresseth against the law," saith St. John, and t
rendereth this reason of that universal assertion, "
sin is the transgression of the law:" which is an
gument drawn from the definition of sin; for he s
not, "every sin is the transgression of the law," wh
had been necessary if he had spoken by way of p
position only, to have proved the universality of
assertion, but produceth it indefinitely, "sin is
transgression of the law," which is sufficient, speak
it by way of definition.* And it is elsewhere m
evident that every sin is something prohibited by so
law, and deviating from the same. For the Apost
affirming that "the law worketh wrath^b," that is
punishment from God, giveth this as a reason or proof
his affirmation, "for where no law is, there is no tra
gression." The law of God is the rule of the actions
men, and any aberration from that rule is sin^c:

* The manner of the Apostle's speech is also to be observed, havin
article prefixed both to the subject and the predicate; as if thereb
would make the proposition convertible, as all definitions ought to
'Ἡ ἀμαρτία ἐστὶν ἡ ἀνομία. 1 John, iii. 4.

^b Rom. iv. 15.

^c "Quid est peccatum nisi prævaricatio legis divinæ, et cœlestiur

law of God is pure, and whatsoever is contrary to that law is impure. Whatsoever, therefore, is done by man, or is in man, having any contrariety or opposition to the law of God, is sin. Every action, every word, every thought against the law is a sin of commission, as is terminated to an object dissonant from, and contrary to, the prohibition of the law, or a negative precept. Every omission of a duty required of us is a sin, as being contrary to the commanding part of the law, or an affirmative precept. Every evil habit contracted in the soul of man by the actions committed against the law of God, is a sin, constituting a man truly a sinner, even then when he actually sinneth not. Any corruption and inclination in the soul to do that which God forbiddeth, and to omit that which God commandeth, howsoever such corruption and evil inclination came into that soul, whether by an act of his own will, or by an act of the will of another, is a sin, being something dissonant and repugnant to the law of God. And this I conceive sufficient to declare the nature of sin.

The second particular to be considered is the obligation of sin, which must be presupposed to the solution or remission of it. Now every sin doth cause a guilt,

scientia præceptorum?" *S. Ambros. de Paradiso*, c. 8. "Peccatum est malum vel dictum vel concupitum aliquid contra æternam legem." *S. contra Faustum*, l. 22. c. 27. "Quid verum est nisi et Dominum præcepta, et animas liberæ esse voluntatis, et malum naturam non sed esse aversionem à Dei præceptis?" *Idem, de Fide contra Marcionem*, c. 10. "Neque negandum est hoc Deum jubere, ita nos in faciendis rebus esse debere perfectos, ut nullum habeamus omnino peccatum: neque peccatum erit, si quid erit, si non divinitus iubeatur ut non

and every sinner, by being so, becomes a guilty person; which guilt consisteth in a debt or obligation to suffer a punishment proportionable to the iniquity of the sin. It is the nature of laws in general to be attended with these two, punishments and rewards; the one propounded for the observation of them, the other threatened upon the deviation from them. And although there were no threats or penal denunciations accompanying the laws of God, yet the transgression of them would, nevertheless, make the person transgressing worthy of, and liable unto, whatsoever punishment can, in justice, be inflicted for that sin committed. Sins of commission pass away in the acting or performing of them; so that he which acteth against a negative precept, after the act is passed, cannot properly be said to sin. Sins of omission, when the time is passed in which the affirmative precept did oblige unto performance, pass away, so that he which did then omit his duty when it was required, and in omitting sinned, after that time cannot be truly said to sin. But though the sin itself do pass away, together with the time in which it was committed, yet the guilt thereof doth never pass, which, by committing, was contracted. He which but once committeth adultery, at that one time sinneth, and at no time after can be said to commit that sin; but the guilt of that sin remaineth on him still, and he may be for ever said to be guilty of adultery, because he is for ever subject to the wrath of God, and obliged to suffer the punishment due unto adultery.^a

^a This obligation unto punishment, remaining after the act of sin, is that *peccati reatus* of which the schools, and before them the fathers, spake. The nature of this reatus is excellently declared by St. Austin,

This debt or obligation to punishment is not only necessarily resulting from the nature of sin, as it is a reach of the law, nor only generally delivered in the scriptures revealing the wrath of God unto all unrighteousness, but it is yet more particularly represented in the Word, which teacheth us, if we do ill, "sin lieth at the door." Our blessed Saviour thus taught his disciples: "Whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be liable" (obnoxious or bound over) to the judgment; and whosoever shall say to his brother, Racha, shall be liable" (obnoxious or bound over) to the council; but whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be liable" (obnoxious or bound over) "to hell fire." So saith our Saviour again: "All sins shall be

dividing the distinction between actual and original sin. "In eis ergo regenerantur in Christo, cum remissionem accipiunt prorsus omnium peccatorum, utique necesse est, ut reatus etiam hujus licet adhuc manens concupiscentiæ remittatur, ut in peccatum sicut dixi, non imputetur. Nam sicut eorum peccatorum quæ manere non possunt, quoniam cum sit prætereunt, reatus tamen manet, et nisi remittatur, in æternum manebit; sic illius [concupiscentiæ], quando remittitur, reatus aufertur. Nec est enim, non habere peccatum, reum non esse peccati. Nam si aliquam, verbi gratiâ, fecerit adulterium, etiamsi nunquam deinceps fiat, reus est adulterii, donec reatus ipsius indulgentiâ remittatur. Nec ergo peccatum, quamvis illud quod admisit jam non sit, quia cum tempore quo factum est præterit. Nam si à peccando desistere, hoc esset non habere peccata, sufficeret ut hoc nos moneret Scriptura; *Fili peccastis? adjicias iterum.* Non autem sufficit, sed addidit, *et de pristinis deprecat, ut tibi remittantur.* Manent ergo nisi remittantur. Sed quomodo manent, si præterita sunt, nisi quia præterierunt actu, manent reatu." *Aug. de Nupt. et Concup. l. 1. c. 26. § 29.* "Ego enim de concupiscentiâ quæ est in membris repugnans legi mentis, quamvis reatus ejus in iudicium peccatorum remissione transierit, sicut è contrario sacrificium factum, si deinceps non fiat, præterit actu, sed manet reatu, nisi indulgentiam remittatur. Quiddam enim tale est sacrificare idolis, reus ipsum cum sit præterest, eodemque præterito reatus ejus maneat resolvendus." *Idem cont. Julian. l. 6. c. 8. § 60.*

Matt. v. 22. "*Εἰς τὸν ὄλεθρον* is the word used here, which is translated 'I be in danger,' but is of a fuller and more pressing sense, as one is a debtor. subject. and obliged to endure it. Hesych. "*Εἰς τὸν ὄλεθρον*,

God, who hath the sovereign power and absolute dominion over all men, hath made a law, to be a perpetual and universal rule of human actions; which law whosoever doth violate or transgress, and thereby sin (for by sin we understand nothing else but the transgression of the law), is thereby obliged in all equity to suffer the punishment due to that obliquity. And after the act of sin is committed and passed over, his guilt, resulting from that act, remaineth; that is, the person who committed it continueth still a debtor to the vindictive justice of God, and is obliged to endure the punishment due unto it: which was the second particular to be considered.

The third consideration now followeth, What is “the forgiveness of sin,” or in what remission doth consist: which, at first, appeareth to be an act of God toward a sinner, because the sin was committed against the law of God; and therefore the punishment must be due from him, because the injury was done unto him. But what is the true notion or nature of this act, or how God doth forgive a sinner, is not easy to determine: nor can it be concluded out of the words themselves which do express it, the niceties of whose origination^a will never be able to yield a just interpretation.

^a The word used in the Creed is *ἄφεσις ἁμαρτιῶν*, and that generally likewise in use in the New Testament. But from thence we cannot be assured of the nature of this act of God, because *ἀφιέναι* and *ἄφεσις* are capable of several interpretations. For, sometimes, *ἀφιέναι* is *emittere*, and *ἄφεσις* *emissio*. As Gen. xxxv. 18. *Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀφιέναι τὴν τὴν ψυχὴν*, not *cum demitteret eam animam*, as it is translated, but *cum mitteret ea animam*, i. e. *efflaret*; as *ἀφῆκε τὸ πνεῦμα*, *emisit spiritum*, [Matt. xxvii. 50. So Gen. xlv. 2. *Καὶ ἀφῆκε φωνὴν μετὰ κλαυθμοῦ*, not *misit*, but *emisit vocem cum fletu*, as *ἀφῆλς φωνὴν μεγάλην*, *emissâ voce*.

For, although the word signifying remission have one sense among many other which may seem proper for this particular concernment, yet because the same word has been often used to signify the same action of God in forgiving sins, where it could have no such particular notion, but several times hath another signification^a

sense may be referred that of Hesych. ἄφεσις, ὁσπληγγα. And this interpretation of ἄφεσις can have no relation to the remission of sins. Secondly, ἀφιέναι is often taken for *permittere*, as Gen. xx. 6. οὐκ ἀφῆκά σε ἄψασθαι αὐτῆς. Matt. iii. 15. ἄφες ἄρτι et τότε ἀφίησιν αὐτόν, which the vulgar translated well, *Sine modo*, and then ill, *Tunc dimisit eum*. Matt. vii. 4. ἄφες ἐκβάλλω, *sine ejiciam*. So Hesych. ἄφεσις, συγχώρησις. And this hath as little relation to the present subject. Thirdly, ἀφιέναι is sometimes *relinquere* and *deserere*, as Gen. xlii. 33. ἀδελφὸν ἕνα ἄφετε ὧδε μετ' ἐμοῦ. Matt. v. 24. ἄφες ἐκεῖ τὸ δῶρόν σου. vii. 4. καὶ ἀφῆκεν αὐτὴν ὁ πυρετός. xix. 27. ἰδοὺ, ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν πάντα. xxvi. 56. τότε οἱ μαθηταὶ πάντες ἀφέντες αὐτόν ἔφυγον. And in this acceptation it cannot explicate unto us what is the true notion of ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας. Fourthly, it is taken for *omittere*, as Matt. xxiii. 23. καὶ ἀφήκατε τὰ βαρύτερα τοῦ νόμου, and Luke, xi. 42. ταῦτα ἔδει ποιῆσαι, κακείνα μὴ ἀφιέναι, and yet we have nothing to our present purpose. But, fifthly, it is often taken for *remittere*, and that particularly in relation to a debt, as Matt. xviii. 27. τὸ δάνειον ἀφῆκεν αὐτῷ. and ver. 32. πᾶσαν τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἐκείνην ἀφῆκά σοι. Which acceptation is most remarkable in the year of release, Deut. xv. 1, 2. Δι' ἐπτὰ ἐτῶν ποιήσεις ἄφεσιν. Καὶ οὕτω τὸ πρόσταγμα τῆς ἀφέσεως· ἀφήσεις πᾶν χρέος ἰδίου, ὃ ὀφείλει σοι ὁ πλησίον, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφόν σου οὐκ ἀπαίτησεις, ἐπικέκληται γὰρ ἄφεσις Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ σου. Now, this remission, or release of debts, hath a great affinity with remission of sins; for Christ himself hath conjoined these two together, and called our sins by the name of debts, and promised remission of sins to us by God, upon our remission of debts to man. And therefore he hath taught us thus to pray, Ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίημεν τοῖς ὀφειλήταις ἡμῶν. Matt. vi. 13. Besides, he hath not only made use of the notion of debt, but any injury done unto a man, he calls a sin against man, and exhorteth to forgive those sins committed against us, that God may forgive the sins committed by us, which are injuries done to him. Luke, xvii. Ἐὰν δὲ ἁμάρτη εἰς σε ὁ ἀδελφός σου, ἐπιτίμησον αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐὰν μετανοήσῃ, ἄφες αὐτῷ.

^a We must not only look upon the propriety of the words used in the New Testament, but we must also reflect upon their use in the Old, especially in such subjects as did belong unto the Old Testament as well as the New. Now, ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας is there used for the verb כָּפַר, as Isa. xxii. 14. הָעוֹן הַזֶּה לָכֵן עַד תָּמוּתוֹן יִכָּפֵר. Οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται ὑμῖν αὕτη ἡ ἁμαρτία, ἕως ἂν ἀποθάνετε, sometimes for the verb נָשַׁח, as Gen. 1. 17. נָשַׁח נֶפֶשׁ נָשׁוּם תִּנְחַם אֶפֶס αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀδικίαν καὶ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν αὐτῶν. Psal. xxv. 18. תִּנְחַם לְכָל נֶפֶשׁ וְאֶפֶס כָּל פָּשָׁע וְכָל חַטָּאת

tending to the same effect, and as proper to the remission of sins; therefore I conceive the nature of forgiveness of sins is rather to be understood by the consideration of all such ways and means which were used by God in the working and performing of it, than in this, or any other word, which is made use of in expressing it.

Now, that we may understand what was done toward the remission of sins, that from thence we may conclude what was done in it; it is first to be observed, that “almost all things by the law were purged by blood, and without shedding of blood there is no remission.”^a And what was then legally done was but a type of that which was to be performed by Christ, and therefore the blood of Christ must necessarily be involved in the remission of sins; for he “once in the end of the world hath appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself.”^b

μον. And in that remarkable place which St. Paul made use of to declare the nature of remission of sins, Psal. xxxii. 1. **אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁוִי מִשָּׁעַ** μακάριοι ὧν ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἁνομίαι. Sometimes it is taken for **מָלַח**, as Numb. xiv. 19. **נָא מָלַח הַזֶּה הָעָם לְעוֹן הָעֵם** ἀφες τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ. Lev. iv. 20. **וְנִסְלַח לָהֶם** καὶ ἀφεθήσεται αὐτοῖς ἡ ἁμαρτία. Now, being ἀφέναι in relation to sins, is used for **כָּפַר**, signifying expiation and reconciliation; for **נָשָׂא**, signifying elevation, portation, and ablation; for **מָלַח**, signifying pardon and indulgence; we cannot argue from the word alone that God, in forgiving sins, doth only and barely release the debt. There is, therefore, no force to be laid upon the words ἀφεςις ἁμαρτιῶν, *remissio peccatorum*, or as the ancient fathers, *remissa peccatorum*. So Tertullian, “Diximus de remissa peccatorum.” *Adv. Marc.* lib. 4. c. 18. S. Cyprian, Epist. 14. “Qui blasphemaverit in Spiritum Sanctum non habet remissam, sed reus est æterni peccati.” *Id. de bono Patien.* “Dominus baptizatur à servo, et remissam peccatorum daturus, ipse non dedignatur lavacro regenerationis corpus abluere.” *Idem*, lib. 3. epist. 8. of an infant, “Qui ad remissam peccatorum accipiendam hoc ipso faciliùs accedit quòd illi remittuntur non propria, sed aliena peccata.” Add the Interpreter of Irenæus concerning Christ, “Remissam peccatorum existentem his qui credunt in eum.”

^a Heb. ix. 22. **Χωὸς αἵματεκγυσίας οὐ γίνεται ἀφεςις.**

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aliens peccata." Add the last
Remissam peccatorum existens
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s, but ἀθέτης ἀμαρτίας.

It must, then, be acknowledged, and can be denied none, that Christ did suffer a painful and shameful death, as we have formerly described it; that the death which he endured, he did then suffer for sin; for "man," saith the Apostle, "offered one sacrifice for sins that the sins which he suffered were not his own, "Christ hath once suffered for sins, the just for unjust^b;" he was "holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners^c," and therefore had no sins to suffer for; that the sins which he suffered for were ours, "he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities^d;" he was "delivered for our offences^e," he "gave himself for our sins^f," "he died for our sins according to the Scriptures^g;" that his dying for our sins was suffering death as a punishment taken upon himself, to free us from the punishment due unto our sins; for God "laid on him the iniquity of all^h," and "made him to be sin for us who knew no sin;" "he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows;" "the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes are we healed^k;" that by the suffering of this punishment, to free us from the punishment due unto our sins, it cometh to pass that our sins are forgiven; for, "This is my blood," saith our Saviour, "the New Testament (or Covenant) which is shed for many for the remission of sins."^l In Christ "we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins according to the riches of his grace."^m

^a Heb. x. 12.

^d Isa. liii. 5.

^e 1 Cor. xv. 3.

^k Isa. liii. 5.

^b 1 Pet. iii. 18.

^c Rom. iv. 25.

^h Isa. liii. 6.

^l Matt. xxvi. 28.

^c Heb. 7. 26.

^f Gal. i. 4.

ⁱ 2 Cor. v. 21.

^m Ephes. i. 7.

For he gave a Redeemer; and though it be most true, that he "so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son;" yet there is no incongruity in this, that a Father should be offended with that son which he loveth, that at that time offended with him when he loveth him. Notwithstanding, therefore, that God loved men whom he created, yet he was offended with them when they sinned, and gave his Son to suffer for them, that through his Son's obedience he might be reconciled to them.

This reconciliation is clearly delivered in the Scriptures, as wrought by Christ; for "all things are of God, who hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ;" and "by virtue of his death; for "when we were enemies, we were reconciled unto God by the death of his Son," "making peace through the blood of his cross, and by reconciling all things unto himself." In vain it is pretended that the Scripture saith our Saviour reconciled us to God, but nowhere teacheth that he reconciled God to man: for, in the language of the Scripture, to reconcile a man to God, is, in our vulgar language, to reconcile God to man; that is, to cause him who before was angry and offended with him, to be gracious and propitious to him. As the princes of the Philistines to King David: "Wherewith should he reconcile himself unto his master? should it not be with the head of these men?" Wherewith shall he reconcile Saul who is so highly offended with him? wherewith shall he order him gracious and favourable, but by betray:

² Cor. v. 18.

³ Rom. v. 10.

⁴ Col. i. 20.

¹ 1 Cor. xxi. 4. Ἐν τίνι διαλλαγήσεται οὗτος τῷ κυρίῳ αὐτοῦ, ταῖς κεφαλαῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων; ἢ ὅτι acceptum se reddet, ita se Saul cum se gratiam recipere velit.

these men unto him? As our Saviour adviseth: "If thou bring thy gift before the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother^a," that is, reconcile thy brother to thyself, whom thou hast injured, render him by thy submission favourable unto thee, who hath something against thee, and is offended at thee. As the Apostle adviseth the wife that "departeth from her husband, to remain unmarried, or to be reconciled to her husband^b," that is, to appease and get the favour of her husband. In the like manner we are said to be reconciled unto God, when God is reconciled, appeased, and become gracious and favourable unto us; and Christ is said to reconcile us unto God, when he hath moved and obtained of God to be reconciled unto us, when he hath appeased him and restored us unto his favour. Thus, when we were enemies we were reconciled to God^c;" that is, notwithstanding he was offended with us for our sins, we were restored unto his favour by the death of his Son.

Whence appeareth the weakness of the Socinian exception, that in the Scriptures we are said to be reconciled unto God^d, but God is never said to be

^a Matt. v. 23, 24. Πρῶτον διαλλάγηθι τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου.

^b 1 Cor. vii. 11.

^c Rom. v. 10.

^d "Ad hæc vero quòd nos Deo reconciliârit quid affers? Primùm quam Scripturam asserere, Deum nobis à Christo reconciliatum, ùm id tantùm quòd nos per Christum aut mortem ejus simus reconciliati, vel Deo reconciliati; ut ex omnibus locis quæ de reconciliatione videntur videre est." *Catech. Racov.* c. 8. To this may be added the observation of Socinus: "Ita communis consuetudo loquendi fert; ut scilicet is reconciliatus fuisse dicatur, per quem stabat, ne amicitia aut denuo existat aut conservetur." *De Christi Sacramentis* = 1. 2. 9. Which ob-

reconciled unto us. For by that very expression, it is to be understood, that he which is reconciled in the language of the Scriptures, is restored unto the favour of him who was formerly offended with that person which is now said to be reconciled. As when David was to be reconciled unto Saul, it was not that David should lay down his enmity against Saul, but that Saul should become propitious and favourable unto David: and therefore, where the language is, that David should be reconciled unto Saul, the sense is, that Saul, who was so exasperated and angry, should be appeased and so reconciled unto David.

Nor is it any wonder God should be thus reconciled to sinners by the death of Christ, who “while we were yet sinners died for us,” because the punishment which Christ, who was our surety, endured, was a full satisfaction to the will and justice of God. “The Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many.”^a Now a ransom

in the person mentioned in the Gospel, who is commanded to be reconciled unto him whom he had offended, and who had something against him.

^a Matt. xx. 28. Δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν. What is the true notion of λύτρον will easily appear, because both the origination and use of the word is sufficiently known. The origination is from λύειν, solvere, to loose, λύτρον quasi λυτήριον. Etym. Θρέπτρα τὰ θρεπτήρια, ὥσπερ λύτρα τὰ λυτήρια. Eustath. Λέγει δὲ Θρέπτρα (ita leg.) τὰ τροφεῖα ἐκ τοῦ θρεπτήρια κατὰ συγκοπήν· ὡς λυτήρια λύτρα, σωτήρια σώστρα. Iliad. δ. v. 478. Λύτρον igitur quicquid datur ut quis solvatur. Ἐπὶ αἰχμαλώτων ἐξωνέσεως οἰκείον τὸ λυέσθαι· δθεν καὶ λύτρα τὰ δῶρα λέγονται τὰ εἰς τοῦτο διδόμενα. Eustathius upon that of Homer, Il. α. v. 13. Λυσόμενος τε δύγατρα, it is properly spoken of such things as are given to redeem a captive, or recover a man into a free condition, Hesych. Πάντα τὰ διδόμενα εἰς ἀνάκτησιν ἀνθρώπων (so I read it, not ἀνάκλησιν). So that whatsoever is given for such a purpose is λύτρον, and whatsoever is not given for such an end deserveth not that name in Greek. As the city Antandrus was so called because it was given in exchange for a man who

a price given to redeem such as are any way in captivity; any thing laid down by way of compensation, to take off a bond or obligation, whereby he which before was bound becometh free. All sinners were obliged to undergo such punishments as are proportionate to their sins, and were by that obligation captivated and in bonds, and Christ did give his life a ransom for them, and that a proper ransom, if that his life were of any price, and given as such. For a ransom is properly nothing else but something of price given by way of redemption^a, to buy or purchase that which is detained, or given for the releasing of that which is enthralled. But it is most evident that the life of Christ was laid down as a price; neither is it more certain that he died, than that he bought us: "Ye are bought with a price^b," saith the Apostle, and it is the "Lord who bought us^c," and the price which he paid was his blood; for "We are not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold, but with the precious blood of Christ.^d" Now as it was the blood

as a captive. Ὅτι Ἀσκάνιος αἰχμάλωτος ἐγένετο ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν καὶ ὤντ' αὐτοῦ ἦν πόλιν δέδωκε λύτρα, καὶ ἀπελύθη. Etym. So that there can be nothing more proper in the Greek language than the words of our Saviour, δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν· δοῦναι λύτρον, for λύτρον is διδόμενον, and ἀντὶ πολλῶν, for it is given ἀντὶ ἀνθρώπων, as that city as called Ἀντανδρος· ἤγουν ἀντὶ ἀνδρὸς δεδουμένη. And therefore, 1 Tim. 6., it is said ὁ δὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀντίλυτρον ὑπὲρ πάντων.

^a Hesych. Λύτρον, τίμημα. ^b 1 Cor. vi. 20. ; vii. 23. ^c 2 Pet. ii. 1. ^d 1 Pet. i. 18, 19. This is sufficiently expressed by two words, each of them fully significative of a price; the first simple, which is ἀγοράζειν, the second in composition, εξαγοράζειν. That the word ἀγοράζειν in the New Testament signifieth, properly, to buy, appeareth generally in the evangelists, and particularly in that place of the Revelations, xiii. 17. α μὴ τις δύνηται ἀγοράσαι ἢ πωλῆσαι. In the same signification it is attributed undoubtedly unto Christ in respect of us, whom he is often said to have bought. as 2 Pet. ii. 1. τὸν ἀγοράσαντα αὐτοὺς δεσπότῃ

of Christ, so it was a price given by way of compensation; and as that blood was precious, so was it a full and perfect satisfaction. For as the gravity of the offence and iniquity of the sin is augmented, and increaseth according to the dignity of the person offended and injured by it; so the value, price, and dignity of that which is given by way compensation, is raised according to the dignity of the person making the satisfaction. God is of infinite majesty, against whom we have sinned; and Christ is of the same divinity, who gave his life a ransom for sinners: for God hath “purchased his Church with his own blood.” Although, therefore, God be said to remit our sins by which we were captivated, yet he is never said to remit the price^a without which we had never been redeemed; neither can he be said to have remitted it, because he did require it and receive it.

If, then, we consider together, on our side the nature

οὐκ ἐστε ἐαυτῶν, ἡγοράσθητε γὰρ τιμῆς. Vulg. Non estis vestri, empti enim estis pretio magno, et 1 Cor. vii. 23. Τιμῆς ἡγοράσθητε, μὴ γίνεσθε δούλοι ὠθρώπων. What this price was is also evident, for the τιμὴ was the τίμιον αἷμα, the precious blood of Christ, or the blood given by way of price, Rev. v. 9. ὅτι ἐσφάγης, καὶ ἡγόρασας τῷ Θεῷ ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ αἱματί σου. Which will appear more fully by the compound word ἐξαγοράζω, Gal. iii. 13. Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου, γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρα, and Gal. iv. 4, 5. γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμον, ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον, ἐξαγοράσῃ. Now, this ἐξαγορασμὸς is proper redemption, or λύτρωσις, upon a proper price, though not silver or gold, yet as proper as silver and gold, and far beyond them both, οὐ φθαρτοῖς ἀργυρίῳ ἢ χρυσίῳ ἐλυτρώθητε ἐκ τῆς ματαίας ὑμῶν ἀναστροφῆς πατροπαραδότου, ἀλλὰ τιμίῳ αἱματι ὡς ἀμνοῦ ἀμώμου καὶ ἀσπίλου, Χριστοῦ, 1 Pet. i. 18, 19.

^a As λύτρον is a certain price given or promised for liberty, so ἀφ.έναι λύτρον is to remit the price set upon the head of a man, or promised for him; as we read in the testament of Lycon the philosopher, Δημητρίῳ μὲν ἐλευθέρῳ πάλαι ὄντι ἀφίημι τὰ λύτρα. Demetrius had been his servant, and he set him free upon a certain price which he had engaged himself to pay for that liberty; the sum which Demetrius was thus bound to pay, Lycon at his death remits, as also to Criton, Κρίτωνι δὲ Καρχηδονίῳ, καὶ τούτῳ, τὰ λύτρα ἀφίημι. Diog. Laert.

and obligation of sin, in Christ the satisfaction made and reconciliation wrought, we shall easily perceive how God forgiveth sins, and in what remission of them consisteth. Man being in all conditions under some law of God, who hath sovereign power and dominion over him, and therefore owing absolute obedience to that law, whensoever any way he transgresseth that law, or deviateth from that rule, he becomes thereby a sinner, and contracteth a guilt, which is an obligation to endure a punishment proportionable to his offence; and God, who is the lawgiver and sovereign, becoming now the party wronged and offended, hath a more just right to punish man as an offender. But Christ, taking upon him the nature of man, and offering himself a sacrifice for sin, giveth that unto God for and instead of the eternal death of man, which is more valuable and acceptable to God than that death could be, and so maketh a sufficient compensation and full satisfaction for the sins of man: which God accepting, becometh reconciled unto us, and, for the punishment which Christ endured, taketh off our obligation to eternal punishment.

Thus man, who violated, by sinning, the law of God, and by that violation offended God, and was thereby obliged to undergo the punishment due unto the sin, and to be inflicted by the wrath of God, is, by the price of the most precious blood of Christ, given and accepted in full compensation and satisfaction for the punishment which was due, restored unto the favour of God, who, being thus satisfied, and upon such satis-

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Which is sufficient for the first part of the expli
of this article, as being designed for nothing else
declare what is the true notion of "remission of
in what that action doth consist.

The second part of the explication, taking notice
only of the substance, but also of the order of the
ticle, observing the immediate connection of it with
Holy Church, and the relation which in the opinion
the ancients it hath unto it, will endeavour to inform
us how this great privilege of "forgiveness of sins"
propounded in the Church, how it may be procured
obtained by the members of the Church.

At the same time when our Saviour sent his
stles to gather a church unto him, he foretold that
penitance and remission of sins should be preached
his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem
and when the Church was first constituted, they
exhorted those whom they desired to come in
"Repent, and be converted, that your sins may be
blotted out^b;" and, "Be it known unto you that
through this man is preached unto you forgiveness
sins."^c From whence it appeareth, that the Jews
Gentiles were invited to the Church of Christ, that
they might therein receive remission of sins; that
doctrine of remission of all sins, propounded
preached to all men, was proper and peculiar to the
Gospel, which teacheth us "that by Christ all that
believe are justified from all things, from which the

^a Luke, xxiv. 47.

^b Acts, iii. 29.

^c Acts, i.

not be justified by the law of Moses." * Therefore John the Baptist, who went "before the face of the Lord to prepare his ways, gave knowledge of salvation unto his people by the remission of their sins."

This, as it was preached by the Apostles at the first gathering of the Church of Christ, I call proper and peculiar to the Gospel, because the same doctrine was not so propounded by the Law. For if we consider the Law itself strictly, and under the bare notion of a law, it promised life only upon perfect, absolute, and uninterrupted obedience; the voice thereof was only this, "Do this, and live." Some of the greater sins nominated and specified in the Law, had annexed unto them the sentence of death, and that sentence irreversible; nor was there any other way or means left in the Law by Moses, by which that punishment might be taken off. As for other less and more ordinary sins, there were sacrifices appointed for them; and when those sacrifices were offered and accepted, God was appeased, and the offences were released. Whatsoever else we read of sins forgiven under the Law, was of some special divine indulgence, more than was promised by Moses, though not more than was promulgated unto the people, the name and of the nature of God, so far as something of the Gospel was mingled with the Law.

Now, as to the atonement made by the sacrifices, it nearly had relation to the death of the Messiah; and whatsoever virtue was in them did operate through his death alone. As he was the Lamb "slain from the

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 any sinner but by intuition of the propitiation;
 general doctrine of remission of sins was never
 revealed, and publicly preached to all nations,
 coming of the Saviour of the world, whose name
 therefore called Jesus, because he was to "redeem
 people from their sins."

Being therefore we are assured that the pro-
 remission of sins belongeth not only certainly,
 some sense peculiarly, to the Church of Christ
 be next considerable how this remission is con-
 upon any person in the Church.

For a full satisfaction in this particular, two
 are very observable; one relating to the initial
 other concerning the continuation of a Christian
 the first of these, it is the most general and irre-
 assertion of all, to whom we have reason to give
 that all sins whatsoever any person is guilty of
 mitted in the baptism of the same person.
 second, it is as certain that all sins committed
 person after baptism are remissible; and that
 committing those sins shall receive forgiveness
 true repentance, at any time, according to the

First, it is certain that "forgiveness of sins
 promised to all who were baptized in the name
 Christ; and it cannot be doubted but all per-

^a "Lex enim peccatorum nescit remissionem, lex mysterium
 quo occulta mundantur: et ideo quod in lege minus est, in
 Evangelio." S. Amb. in Lucam, l. 6. c. 23.

did perform all things necessary to the receiving the ordinance of baptism, did also receive the benefit of that ordinance, which is remission of sins. "John did baptize in the wilderness, and preach the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins."^a And St. Peter made this the exhortation of his first sermon, "Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins."^b In vain doth doubting and fluctuating^c Socinus endeavour to evacuate the evidence of this Scripture, attributing the remission either to repentance without consideration of baptism, or else to the public profession of faith made in baptism; or, if anything must be attributed to baptism itself, it must be nothing but a declaration of such remission. For how will these shifts agree with that which Ananias said unto Saul, without any mention either of repentance or confession: "Arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins;"^d and that which St. Paul, who was so baptized, hath taught us concerning the Church, that Christ doth "sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water?"^e It is therefore sufficiently certain that baptism, as it was instituted by Christ after the pre-administration of St. John, wheresoever it was received with all qualifications necessary in the person accepting, and conferred with all things necessary to be

^a Mark, i. 1.

^b Acts, ii. 38.

^c "Vel Baptismo illi, hoc est, solenniter peractæ ablutioni peccatorum remissionem nequaquam tribuit Petrus, sed totam Pœnitentiæ; vel si Baptismi quoque eâ in re rationem habuit, aut quatenus publicam hominis Jesu Christi professionem continet, eam tantùm modo consideravit; aut si ipsius etiam externæ ablutionis omnino rationem habere oluit, quod ad ipsam attinet, remissionis peccatorum nomine, non ipsam remissionem verè, sed remissionis declarationem. et obsecrationem quas-

performed by the person administering, was most infallibly efficacious, as to this particular, that is, to the remission of all sins committed before the administration of this sacrament.

As those which are received into the Church by the sacrament of baptism receive the remission of their sins of which they were guilty before they were baptized; so*, after they are thus made members of the Church, they receive remission of their future sins by their repentance. Christ, who hath left us a pattern of prayer, hath thereby taught us for ever to implore and beg the forgiveness of our sins; that as we, through the frailty of our nature, are always subject unto sin, so we should always exercise the acts of repentance, and for ever seek the favour of God. This, then, is the comfort of the Gospel, that as it discovereth sin within us, so it propoundeth a remedy unto us. While we are in this

* St. Chrysostom, speaking of the power of the priests, οὐ γὰρ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἀναγεννῶσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα συγχωρεῖν ἔχουσιν ἐξουσίαν ἁμαρτημάτων. De Sacerd. l. 3. "Excepto quippe baptismatis munere, quod contra originale peccatum donatum est (ut quod generatione attractum est regeneratione detrahatur, et tamen activa quoque peccata, quæcunque corde, ore, opere commissæ invenerit, tollit) hac ergo exceptâ magnâ indulgentiâ (unde incipit hominis renovatio), in qua solvitur omnis reatus et ingeneratus et additus, ipsa etiam vita cætera jam ratione utentis ætatis, quantalibet præpolleat fecunditate justitiæ, sine peccatorum remissione non agitur; quoniam filii Dei quamdiu mortaliter vivunt, cum morte configunt: et quamvis de illis, sit veraciter dictum, *Quotquot Spiritu Dei aguntur, hi filii sunt Dei*: sic tamen Spiritu Dei excitantur et tanquam filii Dei proficiunt ad Deum, sit etiam spiritu suo (maximè aggravante corruptibili corpore) tanquam filii hominum quibusdam humanis motibus deficient ad seipsos, et ideo peccent." S. Aug. Enchir. c. 63. § 17. Οὕτω καὶ μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα ἐκκαθαίρεται ἁμαρτήματα μετὰ πόνου πολλοῦ καὶ καμάτου. Πᾶσαν τοίνυν ἐπιδεικνύμεθα σπουδὴν, ὥστε αὐτὰ ἐξαλείψαι ἐντεῦθεν, καὶ αἰσχύνης καὶ τῆς κολάσεως ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς ἐκεῖ, κἄν γὰρ μυρία ᾤμεν ἡμαρτηκότες, ἂν ἐθέλωμεν, δυνησόμεθα ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἀποθέσθαι τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων τὰ φορτία. S. Chris. Hom. in Pentecost. 1. "Quod autem scriptum, et sanguis Jesu filii ejus mundat nos ab omni peccato, tam in Confessione Baptismatis, quàm in clementia pœnitudinis accipiendum est." S. Hieron. adv. Pelag. l. 2. § 7.

life encompassed with flesh, while the allurements of the world, while the stratagems of Satan, while the infirmities and corruptions of our nature betray us to the transgression of the law of God, we are always subject to offend, (from whence whosoever saith “that he hath no sin, is a liar,” contradicting himself, and contracting iniquity by pretending innocency); and so long as we can offend, so long we may apply ourselves unto God by repentance, and be renewed by his grace, and pardoned by his mercy.

And therefore the Church of God, in which “remission of sin” is preached, doth not only promise it at first by the laver of regeneration, but afterwards also upon the virtue of repentance; and to deny the Church this power of absolution is the heresy of Novatian.*

The necessity of the belief of this article appeareth, first, because there can be no Christian consolation without this persuasion. For “we have all sinned, and come short of the glory of God;” nay, God himself hath “concluded all under sin.” We must also acknowledge that every sinner is a guilty person, and that guilt con-

* I call this the heresy of Novatian rather than of Novatus, because, though they both joined in it, yet it rather sprang from Novatianus the Roman presbyter, than from Novatus the African bishop. And he is thus expressed by Epiphanius, λέγων μὴ εἶναι σωτηρίαν, ἀλλὰ μίαν μετάνοιαν· μετὰ δὲ τὸ λουτρὸν, μηκέτι δύνασθαι ἐλεεῖσθαι παραπεπτωκότα· that is, he acknowledged but one repentance which was available in baptism; after which, if any man sinned, there was no mercy remaining for him. To which Epiphanius gives this reply: Ἡ μὲν τελεία μετάνοια ἐν τῷ λουτρῷ τυγχάνει· εἰ δὲ τις παρέπεσεν οὐκ ἀπόλλει τοῦτον ἡ ἁγία τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησία, δίδωσι γὰρ καὶ ἐπάνοδον, καὶ μετὰ τὴν μετάνοιαν τὴν μεταμέλειαν. And again, Δέχεται οὐκ ὁ ἅγιος λόγος καὶ ἡ ἁγία Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησία πάντοτε τὴν μετάνοιαν. And yet more generally, Τὰ πάντα σαφῶς τετελείωται μετὰ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν ἐκδημίαν, ἔτι δὲ ὄντων ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι πάντων, καὶ μετὰ πτώσεως.

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τὰ πάντα σαφὲς τετελειώ-
ἀγῶνι πάντων, καὶ μετὰ τὴν
ὁμολογία· κἂν εἰ μὴ τελεία
ἡ σωτηρία. Hæc. 59. § 1.2.

sisteth in an obligation to endure eternal punishment from the wrath of God provoked by our sins; from whence nothing else can arise but a fearful expectation of everlasting misery. So long as guilt remaineth the soul of man, so long is he in the condition of devils, "delivered into chains and reserved unto judgment."^a For we all fell as well as they, but with difference; remission of sins is promised unto us, to them it is not.

Secondly, it is necessary to believe "the forgiveness of sins," that thereby we may sufficiently esteem God's goodness and our happiness. When man was fallen into sin, there was no possibility left him to work his recovery; that soul which had sinned must necessarily die, the wrath of God abiding upon him ever. There can be nothing imaginable in that which should move God not to show a demonstration of his justice upon him; there can be nothing with him, which could pretend to rescue him from the sentence of an offended and almighty God. Glory therefore, must the goodness of our God appear, who dispenseth with his law, who taketh off the guilt, who looseth the obligation, who imputeth not the sin. This is God's goodness; this is man's happiness.

"blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered; blessed is the man unto whom the Lord imputeth no iniquity."^b The year of release, the year of jubilee, was a time of public joy; and there is a voice like that, "Thy sins are forgiven thee." By a man is rescued from infernal pains, secured f

^a 2 Pet. ii. 4.

^b Psalm xxxi. 1, 2.

everlasting flames; by this he is made capable of heaven, by this he is assured of eternal happiness.

Thirdly, it is necessary to believe "the forgiveness of sins," that by the sense thereof we may be inflamed with the love of God: for that love doth naturally follow from such a sense, appeareth by the parable in the Gospel: "There was a certain creditor, which had two debtors; the one owed him five hundred pence, the other fifty. And when they had nothing to pay, he frankly forgave them both."^a Upon which case our Saviour made this question, "Which of them will love him most?" He supposeth both the debtors will love him, because the creditor forgave them both; and he collecteth the degrees of love will answer proportionably to the quantity of the debt forgiven. We are the debtors, and our debts are sins, and the creditor is God. The remission of our sins is the frank forgiving of our debts, and for that we are obliged to return our love.

Fourthly, the true notion of "forgiveness of sins" is necessary to teach us what we owe to Christ, to whom, and how far we are indebted for this forgiveness. "Through this man is preached unto us the forgiveness of sins^b," and without a surety we had no release. He rendered God propitious unto our persons, because he gave himself as a satisfaction for our sins. While thus he took off our obligation to punishment, he laid upon us a new obligation of obedience. We "are not our own," who are "bought with a price^c:" we must "glorify God in our bodies and in our spirits, which

are God's."^a We must be no longer "the servants of men;" we are "the servants of Christ, who are bought with a price."

Fifthly, it is necessary to believe "remission of sins" as wrought by the blood of Christ, by which the covenant was ratified and confirmed, which mindeth us of a condition required. It is the nature of a covenant to expect performances on both parts; and therefore, if we look for forgiveness promised, we must perform repentance commanded. These two were always preached together; and those which God hath joined ought no man to put asunder. Christ did truly appear "a prince and a Saviour^b," and it was "to give repentance to Israel, and forgiveness of sins." He joined these two in the Apostles' commission, saying, "that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name throughout all nations."^c

From hence every one may learn what he is explicitly to believe and confess in this article of "forgiveness of sins;" for thereby he is conceived to intend thus much: I do freely and fully acknowledge, and with unspeakable comfort embrace this as a most necessary and infallible truth, that whereas every sin is a transgression of the law of God, upon every transgression there remaineth a guilt upon the person of the transgressor, and that guilt is an obligation to endure eternal punishment; so that, all men being concluded under sin, they were all obliged to suffer the miseries of eternal death, it pleased God to give his Son, and his Son to give himself, to be a surety for this debt,

^a 1 Cor. vii. 22, 23.

^b Acts, v. 31.

^c Luke, xxiv. 47.

and to release us from these bonds; and because without shedding of blood there is no remission, he gave his life a sacrifice for sin, he laid it down as a ransom, even his precious blood as a price by way of compensation and satisfaction to the will and justice of God; by which propitiation, God, who was by our sins offended, became reconciled, and, being so, took off our obligation to eternal punishment, which is the guilt of our sins, and appointed in the Church of Christ the sacrament of baptism for the first remission, and repentance for the constant forgiveness of all following trespasses. And thus "I believe the forgiveness of sins."

BURIAL OF THE DEAD.

[REDACTED]

1

1

A SERMON AT THE FUNERAL OF THE COUN
OF CARBERY.

[BISHOP TAYLOR.]

2 SAM. xiv. 14.

For we must needs die, and are as water spilt on ground, which cannot be gathered up again; neither doth God respect any person: yet doth he devise means, that his banished be not expelled from him.

WHEN our blessed Saviour and his disciples view the Temple, some one amongst them cried out, *Magister aspice, quales lapides!* "Master, behold what for what great stones are here!" Christ made no other reply but foretold their dissolution, and a world of sadness and sorrow which should bury that whole nation, when the teeming cloud of God's displeasure should produce a storm which was the daughter of the biggest anger and the mother of the greatest calamity which ever crushed any of the sons of Adam: "The time shall come, that there shall not be left one stone upon another." The whole temple and the religion, the ceremonies ordained by God, and the nation loved by God, and the fabric erected for the service of God, shall run to their own period, and lie down

SERMON AT THE FUNERAL OF [BP. TAYLOR.

several graves. Whatsoever had a beginning can have an ending, and it shall die, unless it be daily red with the purls flowing from the fountain of and refreshed with the dew of heaven, and the of God : and therefore God had provided a tree uradise to have supported Adam in his artificial ortalitiy. Immortality was not in his nature, but e hands and arts, in the favour and superadditions, od. Man was always the same mixture of heat cold, of dryness and moisture ; ever the same weak , apt to feel rebellion in the humours, and to r the evils of a civil war in his body natural ; and fore health and life was to descend upon him from en, and he was to suck life from a tree on earth ; elf being but ingrafted into a tree of life, and ted into the condition of an immortal nature : ie that in the best of his days was but a scion of tree of life, by his sin was cut off from thence dly, and planted upon thorns, and his portion was ver after among the flowers, which to-day spring ook like health and beauty, and in the evening they ick, and at night are dead, and the oven is their : : and as, before, even from our first spring from ust on earth, we might have died if we had not preserved by the continual flux of a rare pro- ce ; so, now that we are reduced to the laws of our nature, “ we must needs die.” It is natural, and fore necessary ; it is become a punishment to us, herefore it is unavoidable ; and God hath bound vil upon us by bands of natural and inseparable

heaven ; and we are fallen from our privilege, and returned to the condition of beasts, and buildings, common things ; and we see temples defiled unto ground, and they die by sacrilege ; and great empires die by their own plenty and ease, full humours factious subjects ; and huge buildings fall by their weight, and the violence of many winters eating consuming the cement, which is the marrow of their bones ; and princes die like the meanest of their servants ; and every thing finds a grave and a tomb ; and the very tomb itself dies by the bigness of its pompousness and luxury,

and becomes as friable and uncombined dust as the ashes of the sinner or the saint that lay under it, and now forgotten in his bed of darkness. And to the catalogue of mortality man is enrolled with a *statute est*. "It is appointed for all men once to die, and after death comes judgment:" and if a man can be stronger than nature, or can wrestle with a decree of Heaven, or can escape from a divine punishment, by his own arts, so that neither the power nor the providence of God, nor the laws of nature, nor the bands of eternal predestination can hold him, then he may live beyond the fate and period of flesh, and last longer than a flower: but if all these can hold us and tie us to conditions, then we must lay our heads down upon a turfed and entertain creeping things in the cells and little chambers of our eyes, and dwell with worms till time

and death shall be no more. "We must needs die." That is our sentence: but that is not all.

"We are as water spilt on the ground, which cannot be gathered up again." Stay, —

1. We are as water, weak, and of no consistence, always descending, abiding in no certain place, unless where we are detained with violence, and every little breath of wind makes us rough and tempestuous, and troubles our faces; every trifling accident discomposes us; and as the face of the waters wasting in a storm so wrinkles itself that it makes upon its forehead furrows deep and hollow like a grave; so do our great and little cares and trifles first make the wrinkles of old age, and then they dig a grave for us: and there is in nature nothing so contemptible, but it may meet with us in such circumstances, that it may be too hard for us in our weaknesses; and the sting of a bee is a weapon sharp enough to pierce the finger of a child or the lip of a man; and those creatures which nature hath left without weapons, yet they are armed sufficiently to vex those parts of men which are left defenceless and ohnoxious to a sun-beam, to the roughness of a sour grape, to the unevenness of a gravel stone, to the dust of a wheel, or the unwholesome breath of a star looking awry upon a sinner.

2. But besides the weaknesses and natural decayings of our bodies, if chances and contingencies be innumerable, then no man can reckon our dangers, and the preternatural causes of our death: so that he is a vain person whose hopes of life are too confidently increased by rea-

be no more. "We must
 cease: but that is not all
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who thinks his hopes at an end when he dwells
 ness. For men die without rule, and with and
 occasions; and no man suspecting or foreseeing
 death's addresses, and no man in his whole cond
 weaker than another. A man in a long consum
 fallen under one of the solemnities and prepara
 death; but at the same instant the most health
 son is as near death, upon a more fatal and
 sudden, but a less discerned cause. There are
 persons upon whose foreheads every man can
 sentence of death written in the lines of a l
 sickness; but they (sometimes) hear the pass
 ring for stronger men, even long before their o
 calls at the house of their mother to open her
 and make a bed for them. No man is surer of
 row than the weakest of his brethren: an
 Lepidus and Aufidius stumbled at the threshol
 senate, and fell down and died, the blow ca
 heaven in a cloud; but it struck more sudde
 upon the poor slave that made sport upon the
 with a premeditated and fore-described death
quisque vitet, nunquam homini satis cautum est
 There are sicknesses that walk in darkness, a
 are exterminating angels that fly wrapt up in
 tains of immateriality and an uncommunicating
 whom we cannot see, but we feel their force
 under their sword, and from heaven the veil
 that wraps our heads in the fatal sentence.
 no age of man but it hath proper to itself some
 and outlets for death, besides those infinite
 ports out of which myriads of men and women

pass into the dark, and the land of forgetfulness. Infancy hath life but in effigy, or like a spark dwelling in a pile of wood: the candle is so newly lighted, that every little shaking of the taper and every ruder breath of air puts it out, and it dies. Childhood is so tender, and yet so unwary; so soft to all the impressions of chance, and yet so forward to run into them; that God knew there could be no security without the care and vigilance of an angel keeper: and the eyes of parents and the arms of nurses, the provisions of art, and all the effects of human love and providence, are not sufficient to keep one child from horrid mischiefs, from strange and early calamities and deaths, unless a messenger be sent from heaven to stand sentinel, and watch the very playings and sleepings, the eatings and drinkings of the children: and it is a long time before nature makes them capable of help; for there are many death, and very many diseases to which poor babes are exposed, but they have but very few capacities of physic; to show that infancy is as liable to death as old age, and equally exposed to danger, and equally incapable of a remedy: with this only difference, that old age hath diseases incurable by nature, and the diseases of childhood are incurable by art; and both the states are the next heirs of death.

3. But all the middle way the case is altered: nature is strong, and art is apt to give ease and remedy; but still there is no security: and there the case is not altered. 1. For there are so many diseases in men that are not understood. 2. So many new ones every year.

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intermingled with so many collateral complica-
4. The symptoms are oftentimes so alike. 5. S
times so hidden and fallacious. 6. Sometimes non
all (as in the most sudden and most dangerous in-
thumations). 7. And then, the diseases in the inv
parts of the body are oftentimes such, to which no
plication can be made. 8. They are so far off, :
the effects of all medicines can no otherwise come
them, than the effect and juices of all meats; that
not till after two or three alterations and decocti-
which change the very species of the medicame-
9. And after all this, very many principles in the ar-
physic are so uncertain, that after they have been
lieved seven or eight ages, and that upon them much
the practice hath been established, they come to be c-
sidered by a witty man, and others established in th
stead; by which men must practice, and by which th
or four generations of men more (as happens) must l
or die. 10. And all this while the men are sick, &
they take things that certainly make them sicker
the present, and very uncertainly restore health for
future: that it may appear of what a large extent
human calamity, when God's providence hath not o-
made it weak and miserable upon the certain stock
various nature, and upon the accidents of an infi-
contingency; but even from the remedies which
appointed, our dangers and our troubles are certai
increased: so that we may be well likened to wa-
our nature is no stronger, our abode no more certa
if the sluices be opened, it falls away and runn
apace; if its currents be stopped, it swells and gr

SERMON AT THE FUNERAL OF [BP. TAYLOR.

lesome, and spills over with a greater diffusion ; if made to stand still, it putrefies : and all this we do.

In all the process of our health we are running to grave : we open our own sluices by viciousness, and worthy actions ; we pour in drink, and let out life ; increase diseases, and know not how to bear them ; wrangle ourselves with our own intemperance ; we catch the fevers and the inflammations of lust, and we choke our souls with drunkenness ; we bury our understandings in loads of meat and surfeits, and then we groan upon our beads, and roar with pain and distress of our souls. Nay, we kill one another's souls with violence and folly, with the effects of pride and uncharitableness ; we live and die like fools, bring a new mortality upon ourselves ; wars and anxious cares, and private duels and public disorders, every thing that is unreasonable, and everything is violent : so that now we may add this fourth to the grave. Besides nature and chance, and the tricks of art, men die with their own sins, and then are hurled into the grave in haste and passion, and pull the stone of the monument upon their own heads. Thus we make ourselves "like water spilt upon the ground ;" we throw away our lives as if they were unvaluable (and indeed most men make them so) ; we let years slip through our fingers like water ; and no mark is to be seen, but like a shower of tears upon a hard ground : there is a grave digged, and a solemn singing, and a great talk in the neighbourhood, and

ills over with a greater distill, it putrefies: and all this

ness of our health we are run our own sluices by vicious re pour in drink, and let out and know not how to bear with our own intemperance the inflammations of lust, or drunkenness; we bury us of meat and surfeits, and the ads, and roar with pain and

Nay, we kill one another's peace and folly, with the excess; we live and die like a calamity upon ourselves; wars, private duels and public dissensions are unreasonable, and even now we may add this to the des nature and chance, and with their own sins, and waste and passion, and punishment upon their own heads "like water spilt upon our lives as if they were; the best men make them so); we are fingers like water; and like a shower of tears upon a grave digged, and a coin in the neighbourhood, and ed, they shall be, and it

shall be remembered no more: and that is like too, when it is spilt, it "cannot be gathered up again. There is no redemption from the grave —

"—— inter se mortales mutua vivunt,
Et quasi cursores vitæ lampada tradunt."

Men live in their course, and by turns; their candle burns awhile, and then it burns blue and faint, and goes to converse with spirits, and then they reach the taper to another; and as the hours of yesterday never return again, so neither can the man whose life they were; and who lived them over once, he never come to live them again and live them better. When Lazarus, and the widow's son of Nain, and Tabitha, and the saints that appeared in Jerusalem at the resurrection of our blessed Lord, arose, they came into this world, some as strangers only to make a visit, all of them to manifest a glory; but none came to the stock of a new life, or entered upon the stage first, or to perform the course of a new nature; therefore it is observable that we never read of a wicked person that was raised from the dead. I would fain have returned to his brother's house; neither he nor any from him could be sent: but all rest in the New Testament (one only excepted) expressed to have been holy persons, or else by miracle were declared innocent. Lazarus was beloved of Christ; those souls that appeared at the resurrection were the souls of saints; Tabitha, raised by St. Peter, was a charitable and a holy Christian; and the man of twelve years old, raised by our blessed Saviour, had not entered into the regions of choice and sinful

and the only exception of the widow's son is, indeed, none at all, for in it the Scripture is wholly silent; and therefore it is very probable that the same process was used, God, in all other instances, having chosen to exemplify his miracles of nature to purposes of the Spirit, and in spiritual capacities. So that, although the Lord of nature did not break the bands of nature in some instances, to manifest his glory to succeeding great and never-failing purposes; yet (besides that this shall be no more) it was also instanced in such persons who were holy and innocent, and within the verge and comprehensions of the eternal mercy. We never read that a wicked person felt such a miracle, or was raised from the grave to try the second time for a crown; but where he fell, there he lay down dead, and saw the light no more.

This consideration I intend to you as a severe monitor, and an advice of carefulness, that you order your affairs so that you may be partakers of the first resurrection; that is, from sin to grace, from the death of vicious habits to the vigour, life, and efficacy of an habitual righteousness: for, (as it happened to those persons in the New Testament now mentioned, to them, say, in the literal sense,) "Blessed are they that have part in the first resurrection; upon them the second death shall have no power:" meaning, that they who by the power of Christ and his Holy Spirit were raised to life again, were holy and blessed souls, and such whose names were written in the book of God; and that this grace was not opened to no wicked and vicious person; so it is

only that serve God in a holy life ; you who are dead in trespasses and sins ; you who serve God with early diligence and unwearied industry, and a holy religion, you, and you only, shall come to life eternal : you only shall be called from death to life ; the rest mankind shall never live again, but pass from death to death ; from one death to another, to a worse ; from the death of the body, to the eternal death of body and soul : and therefore in the Apostles' Creed there is no mention made of the resurrection of wicked persons, but of "the resurrection of the body to everlasting life." The wicked, indeed, shall be haled forth from their graves, from their everlasting prisons, where, in chains of darkness, they are kept unto the judgment of the great day : but this, therefore, cannot be called, *in sensu favoris*, a resurrection, but the solemnities of the eternal death. It is nothing but a new capacity of dying again ; such a dying as cannot signify rest, but where death means nothing but an intolerable and never-ceasing calamity ; and therefore these words of my text are otherwise to be understood of the wicked, otherwise of the godly. The wicked are spilt like water, and shall never be gathered up again, no, not in the gatherings of eternity ; they shall be put into vessels of wrath, and set upon the flames of hell : but that is not a gathering, but a scattering from the face and presence of God. But the godly also come under the sense of these words ; they descend into their graves, and shall no more be reckoned among the living ; they have no concernment in all that is done under the sun. Agamemnon hath no more to do with the Turk's armies invading and

possessing that part of Greece where he reigned, than had the Hygonemaur who never had a being; and Cæsar hath no more interest in the present evils of Christendom than we have to do with his boasted discovery of Catiline's conspiracy. What is it to me that Rome was taken by the Gauls? And what is it now to Camillus if different religions be tolerated amongst us? These things that now happen concern the living, and they are made the scenes of our duty or danger respectively: and when our wives are dead, and sleep in charnel-houses, they are not troubled when we laugh loudly at the songs sung at the next marriage feast, nor do they envy when another snatches away the gleanings of their husband's passion.

It is true they envy not, and they lie in a bosom where there can be no murmur; and they that are consigned to kingdoms, and to the feast of the marriage supper of the Lamb, the glorious and eternal bridegroom of holy souls, they cannot think our marriages here, our lighter laughings and vain rejoicings, considerable as to them. And yet there is a relation continued still. Aristotle said, "that to affirm the dead take no thought for the good of the living, is a disparagement to the laws of that friendship which in their state of separation they cannot be tempted to rescind. And the Church hath taught in general, that they pray for us, they recommend to God the state of all their relatives, in the union of the intercession that our blessed Lord makes for them and us: and St. Ambrose gave

it him (I say) when he was dying, not when he was dead. And certain it is that though our dead friend's affection to us is not to be estimated according to our low conceptions, yet it is not less, but much more than ever it was; it is greater in degree, and of another kind.

But then, we should do well also to remember, that in this world we are something besides flesh and blood: that we may not, without violent necessities, run into new relations, but preserve the affections we bore our dead when they were alive: we must not so live as if they were perished, but so as pressing forward the most intimate participation of the communion of saints. And we also have some ways to express the relation, and to bear a part in this communion, by actions of intercourse with them, and yet proper to our state: such as are strictly performing the will of the dead, providing for, and tenderly and wisely educating their children, paying their debts, imitating their good example, preserving their memories privately, and publicly keeping their memorials, and desiring of God with hearty and constant prayer that God would give them a joyful resurrection and a merciful judgment (for St. Paul prayed in behalf of Onesiphorus)*, that "God would show them mercy in that day," that fearful, and yet much to be desired day, in which the most righteous person hath need of much mercy and pity, and shall find it. Now, these instances of duty show that the relation remains still; and though the relict of man or woman hath liberty to contract new relations

* 2 Tim. i. 18.

yet I do not find they have liberty to cast off the old, as if there were no such thing as immortality of souls. Remember that we shall converse together again; let us, therefore, never do anything of reference to them which we shall be ashamed of in the day when all secrets shall be discovered, and that we shall meet again in the presence of God. In the mean time, God watcheth concerning all their interest, and he will in his time both discover and recompense. For though, as to us, they are like water spilt, yet, to God, they are as water fallen in the sea, safe and united in his comprehension and inclosures.

But we are not yet passed the consideration of the sentence. This descending to the grave is the lot of all men: "Neither doth God respect the person of any man." The rich is not protected for favour, nor the poor for pity; the old man is not revered for his age, nor the infant regarded for his tenderness; youth and beauty, learning and prudence, wit and strength, lie down equally in the dishonours of the grave. All men, and all natures, and all persons resist the addresses and solemnities of death, and strive to preserve a miserable and unpleasant life; and yet they all sink down and die. For so have I seen the pillars of a building assisted with artificial props bending under the pressure of a roof, and pertinaciously resisting the inevitable and prepared ruin,

*"Donec certa dies, omni compage solutâ
Ipsam cum rebus subruat auxilium."*

until the determined day comes; and then the burden

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auxiliary rafters into a common ruin and a ruder g
So are the desires and weak arts of man: with
aids and assistances of care and physic we stri
support our decaying bodies, and to put off the
day; but quickly that day will come, and then no
angels nor men can rescue us from our grave; bu
roof sinks down upon the walls, and the walls de
to the foundation; and the beauty of the face an
dishonours of the belly, the discerning head and
servile feet, the thinking heart and the working
the eyes and the guts together shall be crushed int
confusion of a heap, and dwell with creatures
equivocal production, with worms and serpents, th
and daughters of our own bones, in a house of di
darkness.

Let not us think to be excepted or deferred
beauty, or wit, or youth, or nobleness, or weal
virtue could have been a defence, and an excuse
the grave, we had not met here to-day to mourn
the hearse of an excellent lady: and God only
for which of us next the mourners shall go abo
streets or weep in houses.

Zeus μὲν που τόγε οἶδε καὶ ἄθνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι,
Ὅπποτέρῃ θανάτῳ τέλος πεπρωμένον ἐστίν.*

We have lived so many years; and every da
every minute we make an escape from those tho
of dangers and deaths that encompass us round
and such escapings we must reckon to be an
ordinary fortune, and therefore that it cannot las
Vain are the thoughts of man, who when he is

* Iliad, γ. 308.

or healthful, thinks he hath a long thread of life to run over ; and that it is violent and strange for young persons to die, and natural and proper only for the aged. It is as natural for a man to die by drowning as by a fever : and what greater violence or more unnatural thing is it, that the horse threw his rider into the river, than that a drunken meeting cast him into a fever ? and the strengths of youth are as soon broken by the strong sicknesses of youth, and the stronger intemperance, as the weakness of old age by a cough, or an asthma, or a continual rheum : nay, it is more natural for young men and women to die, than for old ; because that is more natural which hath more natural causes, and that is more natural which is most common ; but to die with age is an extreme rare thing ; and there are more persons carried forth to burial before the five and thirtieth year of their age, than after it. And therefore let no vain confidence make you hope for long life. If you have lived but little, and are still in youth, remember that now you are in your biggest throng of dangers, both of body and soul ; and the proper sins of youth, to which they rush infinitely and without consideration, are also the proper and immediate instruments of death. But if you be old, you have escaped long and wonderfully, and the time of your escaping is out : you must not for ever think to live upon wonders, or that God will work miracles to satisfy your longing follies, and unreasonable desires of living longer to sin and to the world. Go home, and think to die ; and what you would choose to be doing when you die, that do daily ; for you will all come to that pass, to rejoice that

you did so, or wish that you had: that will be the condition of every one of us; for "God regardeth no man person."

Well; but all this you will think is but a sad story. What! we must die, and go to darkness and dishonour, and we must die quickly, and we must quit all our delights, and all our sins, or do worse, infinitely worse; and this is the condition of us all, from which none can be excepted; every man shall be spilt and fall into the ground, and "be gathered up no more." Is there comfort after all this? Shall we "go from hence, and be no more seen," and have no recompence?

— "Miser, ô miser, aiunt, omnia ademit
Una dies infesta tibi tot præmia vitæ."

Shall we exchange our fair dwellings for a coffin, softer beds for the moistened and weeping turf, and pretty children for worms: and is there no allay to this huge calamity? Yes, there is; there is a "yet" in the text: for all this, "yet doth God devise mercy that his banished be not expelled from him." All sorrow and trouble is but a phantasm, and receive no account and degrees from our present conceptions in the proportion to our relishes and gust.

When Pompey saw the ghost of his first lady who vexed his rest and his conscience for superintending Cornelia upon her bed within the ten months mourning, he presently fancied it either to be an illusion, or else that death could be no very great evil:

"Aut nihil"

SERMON AT THE FUNERAL OF [BP. TAYLOR.

er my dead wife knows not of my unhandsome
riage, and forgetfulness of her ; or if she does, then
dead live.

——“ *Longæ, canitis si cognita, vitæ
Mors media est.*”

Death is nothing but the middle point between two
s, between this and another: concerning which
fortable mystery the Holy Scripture instructs our
s, and entertains our hope, in these words: God is
the “God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob;” “for all
live to him^a;” and the souls of saints are with
ist: “I desire to be dissolved (saith St. Paul), and
be with Christ, for that is much better^b:” and,
essed are the dead which die in the Lord; they
from their labours, and their works follow them.”^c
or we know, that if our earthly house of this taber-
e were dissolved, we have a building of God, a
se not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.”^d

this state of separation St. Paul calls “a being
nt from the body, and being present with the
d.”^e This is one of God’s means which he hath
sed, that although our dead are like persons
shed from this world, yet they are not expelled
God: ^f they are “in the hands of Christ;” they
“in his presence;” they are, or shall be “clothed
a house of God’s making;” they “rest from all their
urs;” all “tears are wiped from their eyes,” and all
ntents from their spirits; and in the state of sepa-
n, before the soul be re-invested with her new

^a *ide* 1 Cor. xv. 18.

^b 1 Thess. iv. 16.

^c Rev. xiv. 13.

house, the spirits of all persons are with God, so secured, and so blessed, and so sealed up for glory, that this state of interval and imperfection is, in respect of its certain event and end, infinitely more desirable than all the riches, and all the pleasures, and all the vanities, and all the kingdoms of this world.

I will not venture to determine what are the circumstances of the abode of holy souls in their separate dwellings; and yet possibly that might be easier than to tell what or how the soul is and works in this world, where it is in the body *tanquam in alienâ domo*, as in a prison, in fetters and restraints; for here the soul is discomposed and hindered: it is not as it shall be, as it ought to be, as it was intended to be; it is not permitted to its own freedom, and proper operation; so that all that we can understand of it here is, that it is so incommodated with a troubled and abated instrument, that the object we are to consider cannot be offered to us in a right line, in just and equal propositions; or if it could, yet because we are to understand the soul by the soul, it becomes not only a troubled and abused object, but a crooked instrument; and we here can consider it just as a weak eye can behold a staff thrust into the waters of a troubled river; the very water makes a refraction, and the storm doubles the refraction, and the water of the eye doubles the species, and there is nothing right in the thing; the object is out of its just place, and the medium is troubled, and the organ is impotent: *at cum exierit, et in liberum cœlum, quasi in domum suam, venerit*; when the soul is entered into her own house, into the free

— SERMON AT THE FUNERAL OF [MR. TAYLOR.

THE DEATH OF THE BODY AND THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF HEAVENLY
THINGS: THESE CONSIDERATIONS ARE MORE SPIRITUAL, PROPER, AND
FITTING TO THE SOUL: AND THOUGH WE CANNOT SEE
AS CLEAR & DISTINCT, YET THE OBJECT IS MORE FITTED IF WE
HAVE A CORRESPONDING UNDERSTANDING: IT IS IN ITSELF IN A MORE
EXALTED AND FREE CONDITION.

CERTAIN IT IS THAT THE BODY DOES HINDER MANY ACTIONS
OF THE SOUL: IT IS AN IMPURE BODY, AND A DISORDERED
FRAME, OF A VIOLENT PASSION THAT MAKES FOOLS: NO MAN
HATH A FOULISH SOUL: AND THE REASONINGS OF MEN HAVE
IMMENSE DIFFERENCES AND DEGREES, BY REASON OF THE BODY'S
CONSTITUTION. AMONG BEASTS, WHICH HAVE NO REASON,
THERE IS A GREATER LIKENESS THAN BETWEEN MEN, WHO
HAVE: AND AS BY FORCE IT IS EASIER TO KNOW A MAN FROM
A MAN, THAN A SPARROW FROM A SPARROW, OR A SQUIREL
FROM A SQUIREL: SO THE DIFFERENCE IS VERY GREAT IN OUR
SOULS: WHICH DIFFERENCE, BECAUSE IT IS NOT ORIGINALLY IN
THE SOUL (AND INDEED CANNOT BE IN SIMPLE OR SPIRITUAL
SUBSTANCES OF THE SAME SPECIES OR KIND), IT MUST NEEDS
DERIVE WHOLLY FROM THE BODY, FROM ITS ACCIDENTS AND
CIRCUMSTANCES. FROM WHENCE IT FOLLOWS, THAT BECAUSE
THE BODY CASTS FETTERS AND RESTRAINTS, HINDRANCES AND
IMPEDIMENTS UPON THE SOUL, THAT THE SOUL IS MUCH FREER
IN THE STATE OF SEPARATION; AND IF IT HATH ANY ACT OF
LIFE, IT IS MUCH MORE NOBLE AND EXPEDITE.

THAT THE SOUL IS ALIVE AFTER OUR DEATH, ST. PAUL
AFFIRMS: "CHRIST DIED FOR US, THAT WHETHER WE WAKE OR
SLEEP, WE SHOULD LIVE TOGETHER WITH HIM."* NOW IT
WERE STRANGE THAT WE SHOULD BE ALIVE, AND LIVE WITH
CHRIST, AND YET DO NO ACT OF LIFE: THE BODY WHEN IT IS

asleep does many; and if the soul does none, the principle is less active than the instrument; but if it can act at all in separation, it must necessarily be the act or effect of understanding; there is nothing else it can do, but this it can: for it is but a weak and unlearned proposition to say, that the soul can do nothing of itself, nothing without the phantasms and provisions of the body. For,

1. In this life the soul hath one principle clearly separate, abstracted, and immaterial; I mean the "spirit of grace," which is a principle of life and action, and in many instances does not at all communicate with matter; as in the infusion, superinduction, and creation of spiritual graces.

2. As nutrition, generation, eating, and drinking are actions proper to the body and its state; so ecstasies, visions, raptures, intuitive knowledge, and consideration of itself, acts of volition, and reflex acts of understanding, are proper to the soul.

3. And therefore it is observable, that St. Paul says that "he knew not whether his visions and raptures were in or out of the body;" for by that we see the judgment of the thing, that one was as likely as the other, neither of them impossible or unreasonable; and therefore that the soul is as capable of action alone as in conjunction.

4. If in the state of blessedness there are actions of the soul which do not pass through the body, such as contemplation of God, and conversing with spirits, and receiving those influences and rare inspirations.

Trinity, make up the crown of glory ; it follows that the necessity of the body's ministry is but during the state of this life, and as long as it converses with fire and water, and lives with corn and flesh, and is fed by the satisfaction of material appetites ; which necessity and manner of conversation, when it ceases, it can be no longer necessary for the soul to be served by phantasms and material representations.

5. And therefore, when the body shall be re-united, it shall be so ordered that then the body shall confess it gives not any thing, but receives all its being and operation, its manner and abode, from the soul ; and that then it comes not to serve a necessity, but to undertake a glory. For as the operations of the soul in this life begin in the body, and by it the object is transmitted to the soul ; so then they shall begin in the soul, and pass to the body ; and as the operations of the soul, by reason of its dependence on the body, are animal, natural, and material ; so in the resurrection body shall be spiritual, by reason of the presence, influence, and prime operation of the soul. Now, between these two states stands the state of transition, in which the operations of the soul are of a middle nature, that is, not so spiritual as in the resurrection, and not so animal and natural as in the state of conjunction.

And all which I add this consideration, that our souls shall be in the same condition that Christ's soul had in the state of separation, because he took on him all our infirmities and all our condition ; and it is certain Christ's

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acts of life, of joy, and triumph, and did not
visited the souls of the fathers, trampled upon
of devils, and satisfied those longing souls with
"prisoners of hope." And from all this we
clude, that the souls of all the servants of
alive, and therefore do the actions of life, and
their state; and therefore it is highly probable
soul works clearer, and understands brighter,
courses wiser, and rejoices louder, and love
and desires purer, and hopes stronger than
here.

But if these arguments should fail, yet the
God's saints cannot fail: for suppose the body
necessary instrument, but out of tune and dis
by sin and anger, by accident and chance,
and imperfections, yet that it is better than none
and that if the soul works imperfectly with
fect body, that then she works not at all when
none; and suppose also that the soul should be
without sense or perception in death as it is
sleep, which is the image and shadow of death
"God devises" other "means, that his banish
expelled from him." For,

2. God will restore the soul to the body,
the body to such a perfection, that it shall be
fit to praise him upon; it shall be made so
minister to the soul, when the soul is turned
spirit: then the soul shall be brought forth
from her incomparable and easy bed, from
Christ's holy bosom, and be made perfect in
and in all her

by that perfection which the soul shall receive as instrumental to the last judgment; for then she shall see clearly all the records of this world, all the register of her own memory: for all that we did in this life is laid up in our memories; and though dust and forgetfulness be drawn upon them, yet when God shall lift us from our dust, then shall appear clearly all that we have done, written in the tables of our conscience, which is the soul's memory. We see many times, and in many instances, that a great memory is hindered and put out, and we thirty years after come to think of something that lay so long under a curtain; we think of it suddenly, and without a line of deduction or proper consequence; and all those famous memories of Simonides and Theodactes, of Hortensius and Seneca, of Sceptius Metrodorus and Carneades, of Cyneas the ambassador Pyrrhus, are only the records better kept, and less troubled by accident and disease; for even the memory Herod's son of Athens, of Bathyllus, and the dullest man now alive, is so great, and by God made so sure record of all that ever he did, that as soon as ever we shall but tune our instrument, and draw the curtain, and but light up the candle of immortality, there we shall find it all, there we shall see all, and the whole we shall see all; then we shall be made fit to converse with God after the manner of spirits, we shall be like angels.

In the mean time, although upon the persuasion of my former discourse it be highly probable that the faithful of God's servants do live in a state of present

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 of the world and the
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pectation of the revelation of the day of the Lord the coming of Jesus; yet it will concern us to secure our state by holy living, and leave the eye to God, "that," as St. Paul said, "whether present or absent," whether sleeping or waking, whether perceiving or perceiving not, we may be accepted of him when we are banished this world, and from the light of the sun, we may not be expelled from God, and the light of his countenance, but that from our sorrows our souls may pass into the bosom of Christ from thence to his right hand in the day of session. "For we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ;" and then, if we have done well in the body, we shall never be expelled from the beatifical presence of God, but be domestics of his family, and heirs of his kingdom, and partakers of his glory. Amen.

I have now done with my text, but yet am to give you another sermon. I have told you the necessity of the state of death,—it may be too largely for such a story; I shall therefore now, with a better compendium, teach you how to live, by telling you a plain history of a life, which if you imitate, and write after it, it will make that death shall not be an evil, but to be desired, and to be reckoned among the joys and advantages of your fortune. When Mary and Martha went to weep over the grave of their brother, Christ met them there, and preached a funeral sermon, discoursing of the resurrection, and applying it to the purposes of faith, and confession of Christ, and glorification of God. We have no other, we

no better, precedent to follow. And now that we are come to weep over the grave of our dear sister, this rare personage, we cannot choose but have many virtues to learn, many to imitate, and some to exercise.

I choose not to declare her extraction and genealogy. It was indeed fair and honourable ; but having the blessing to be descended from worthy and honoured ancestors, and herself to be adopted and ingrafted into a more noble family ; yet she felt such outward appendages to be none of hers, because not of her choice, but the purchase of the virtues of others ; which, although they did engage her to do noble things, yet they would rebraid all degenerate and less honourable lives than were those which began and increased the honour of the families. She did not love her fortune for making her noble ; but thought it would be a dishonour to her if she did not continue a nobleness and excellency of virtue ; to be owned by persons relating to such ancestors. It is fit for us all to honour the nobleness of a family ; but it is also fit for them that are noble to despise it, and to establish their honour upon the foundation of doing excellent things, and suffering in good causes, and despising dishonourable actions, and in communicating good things to others ; for this is the rule in nature : those creatures are most honourable which have the greatest power and do the greatest good ; and accordingly myself have been a witness of it, how this excellent lady would, by an act of humility and Christian extraction, strip herself of all that fair appendage and exterior honour which decked her person and her for-

lent to follow. And now
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 cannot choose but have many
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her own, that she might only be esteemed honour
 according to that which is the honour of a Christ
 and a wise person.

2. She had a strict and severe education, and it
 one of God's graces and favours to her; for, being
 heiress of a great fortune, and living amongst
 throng of persons, in the sight of vanities and en
 temptations, that is, in that part of the kingdom w
 greatness is too often expressed in great follies
 great vices, God had provided a severe and angry
 cation to chastise the forwardnesses of a young s
 and a fair fortune, that she might for ever be s
 distant from a vice, that she might only see it
 loathe it, but never taste of it, so much as to be p
 her choice whether she would be virtuous or no.
 intending to secure this soul to himself, would not
 the follies of the world to seize upon her by way
 near a trial or busy temptation.

3. She was married young; and, besides her busi
 of religion, seemed to be ordained in the provide
 God to bring to this honourable family a part of
 fortune, and to leave behind her a fairer issue,
 ten thousand times her portion: and, as if this h
 all the public business of her life, when she had
 served God's ends, God in mercy would also ser
 and take her to an early blessedness.

4. In passing through which line of provide
 had the art to secure her eternal interest, by
 her condition into duty, and expressing her dut
 greatest eminency of a virtuous, prudent, and r
 tion, that hath been known in any example.]

give her so low a testimony, as to say only that she was chaste: she was a person of that severity, modesty, and close religion (as to that particular), that she was not capable of uncivil temptation; and you might as well have suspected the sun to smell of the poppy that he looks on, as that she could have been a person apt to be sullied by the breath of a foul question.

5. But that which I shall note in her is that which I would have exemplar to all ladies, and to all women: she had a love so great for her lord, so entirely given up to a dear affection, that she thought the same things, and loved the same loves, and hated according to the same enmities, and breathed in his soul, and lived in his presence, and languished in his absence; and all that she was or did, was only for and to her dearest lord:

“ Si gaudet, si flet, si tacet, hunc loquitur,
Cœnat, propinat, poscit, negat, innuit, unus
Nævius est.”

And although this was a great enamel to the beauty of her soul, yet it might in some degrees be also a reward to the virtue of her lord: for she would often discourse it to them that conversed with her, that he would improve that interest which he had in her affection to the advantages of God and of religion; and she would delight to say that he called her to her devotions, he encouraged her good inclinations, he directed her piety, he invited her with good books; and then she loved religion, which she saw was not only pleasing to God, and an act or state of duty, but pleasing to her lord, and an act also of affection and conjugal obe-

... as to my ...
 ... a person of that ...
 ... to that particular, ...
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 ... affection and conjugal ...
 ... loved the more form

for his sake, in the using of religion, left such upon her spirit, that she found in it amiability to make her love it for its own. So God usually us to him by instruments of nature and affectio then incorporates us into his inheritance by th immediate relishes of heaven, and the secret th the Spirit. He only was (under God) the ligh eyes, and the cordial of her spirits, and the guid actions, and the measure of her affections, till h tions swelled up into a religion, and then it cou higher, but was confederate with those othe which made her dear to God: which rare com of duty and religion I choose to express in the Solomon: "She forsook not the guide of he nor brake the covenant of her God."*

6. As she was a rare wife, so she was an mother; for in so tender a constitution of spiri was, and in so great a kindness towards her there hath seldom been seen a stricter and mor care of their persons, their deportment, thei their disposition, their learning, and their cust if ever kindness and care did contest, and mal in her, yet her care and her severity was torious; and she knew not how to do an il their severer part, by her more tender and kindness. And, as her custom was, she tu also into love to her lord; for she was not gent to have them bred nobly and religiously was careful and solicitous that they should be observe all the circumstances and inclination

* Prov. ii. 17.

sires and wishes of their father ; as thinking that virtue to have no good circumstances, which was not dressed by his copy, and ruled by his lines and his affections : and her prudence in the managing her children was so singular and rare, that whenever you mean to bless this family, and pray a hearty and a profitable prayer for it, beg of God that the children may have those excellent things which she designed to them and provided for them in her heart and wishes, that they may live by her purposes, and may grow thither, whither she would fain have brought them. All these were great parts of an excellent religion, as they concerned her greatest temporal relations.

7. But if we examine how she demeaned herself towards God, there also you will find her not of a common but of an exemplar piety. She was a great reader of Scripture, confining herself to great proportions every day ; which she read, not to the purposes of vanity and impertinent curiosities, not to seem knowing or to become talking, not to expound and rule ; but to teach her all her duty, to instruct her in the knowledge and love of God and of her neighbours ; to make her more humble, and to teach her to despise the world and all its gilded vanities ; and that she might entertain passions wholly in design and order to heaven. I have seen a female religion that wholly dwelt upon the face and tongue ; that like a wanton and an undressed tree spends all its juice in suckers and irregular branches, in leaves and gum, and after all such goodly outsides you should never eat an apple, or be delighted

But the religion of this excellent lady was of another constitution; it took root downward in humility, and brought forth fruit upward in the substantial graces of a Christian, in charity and justice, in chastity and modesty, in fair friendships and sweetness of society: she had not very much of the forms and outsides of godliness, but she was hugely careful for the power of it, for the moral, essential, and useful parts, such which would make her be, not seem to be, religious.

8. She was a very constant person at her prayers, and spent all her time which nature did permit to her choice in her devotions, and reading and meditating, and the necessary offices of household government; every one of which is an action of religion, some by nature, some by adoption. To these also God gave her a very great love to hear the word of God preached; in which, because I had sometimes the honour to minister to her, I can give this certain testimony, that she was a diligent, watchful, and attentive hearer; and to this had so excellent a judgment, that if ever I saw a woman whose judgment was to be revered, it was hers alone; and I have sometimes thought that the eminency of her discerning faculties did reward a pious discourse, and placed it in the regions of honour and usefulness, and gathered it up from the ground, where commonly such homilies are spilt, or scattered in neglect and inconsideration. But her appetite was not soon satisfied with what was useful to her soul: she was also a constant reader of sermons, and seldom missed to read one every day; and that she might be full of instruction and holy principles, she

had lately designed to have a large book, in which she purposed to have a stock of religion transcribed in such assistances as she would choose, that she might be "readily furnished and instructed to every good work." But God prevented that, and hath filled her desires, not out of cisterns and little aqueducts, but hath carried her to the fountain, where she drinks of the pleasures of the river, and is full of God.

9. She always lived a life of much innocence, free from the violences of great sins: her person, her breeding, her modesty, her honour, her religion, her early marriage, the guide of her soul, and the guide of her youth, were as so many fountains of restraining grace to her, to keep her from the dishonours of a crime. *Bonum est portare jugum ab adolescentiâ*; "It is good to bear the yoke of the Lord from our youth;" and though she did so, being guarded by a mighty providence and a great favour and grace of God from staining her fair soul with the spots of hell, yet she had strange fears and early cares upon her; but these were not only for herself, but in order to others, to her dearest relatives: for she was so great a lover of this honourable family, of which now she was a mother, that she desired to become a channel of great blessings to it unto future ages, and was extremely jealous lest anything should be done, or lest anything had been done, though an age or two since, which should entail a curse upon the innocent posterity; and therefore although I do not know that ever she was tempted with an offer of the crime, yet she did infinitely remove

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 would have no mingled rights with it; she would
 receive anything from the Church but religion
 blessing; and she never thought a curse and a
 enough off, but would desire it to be infinitely dis
 and that as to this family God had given much
 and a wise head to govern it, so he would also fo
 give many more blessings: and because she kne
 sins of parents descend upon children, she endeav
 by justice and religion, by charity and honour, to
 that her channel should convey nothing but health
 a fair example, and a blessing.

10. And though her accounts to God were m
 of nothing but small parcels, little passions, and
 words, and trifling discontents, which are the al
 the piety of the most holy persons; yet she wa
 at her repentance; and toward the latter end
 days grew so fast in religion, as if she had had
 revelation of her approaching end, and therefore t
 must go a great way in a little time; her dis
 more full of religion, her prayers more frequ
 charity increasing, her forgiveness more forwa
 friendships more communicative, her passion mor
 discipline: and so she trimmed her lamp, not t
 her night was so near, but that it might shine
 the day-time, in the temple, and before the
 incense.

But in this course of hers there were some
 stances, and some appendages of substance, wh
 highly remarkable.

relation towards God, she had a strange evenness and untroubled passage, sliding towards her ocean of God and of infinity with a certain and silent motion. So have I seen a river deep and smooth passing with a still foot and a sober face, and paying to the *fiscus*, the great exchequer of the sea, the prince of all the watery bodies, a tribute large and full; and hard by it a little brook skipping and making a noise upon its unequal and neighbour bottom; and after all its talking and bragged motion, it payed to its common audit no more than the revenues of a little cloud, or a contemptible vessel. So have I sometimes compared the issues of her religion to the solemnities and famed outsides of another's piety: it dwelt upon her spirit, and was incorporated with the periodical work of every day: she did not believe that religion was intended to minister to fame and reputation, but to pardon of sins, to the pleasure of God, and the salvation of souls. For religion is like the breath of heaven: if it goes abroad into the open air, it scatters and dissolves like camphire; but if it enters into a secret hollowness, into a close conveyance, it is strong and mighty, and comes forth with vigour and great effect at the other end, at the other side of this life, in the days of death and judgment.

2. The other appendage of her religion, which also was a great ornament to all the parts of her life, was a rare modesty and humility of spirit, a confident despising and undervaluing of herself. For though she

and she had a strange elevation towards her own station, with a certain and silent majesty, deep and smooth passing over her face, and paying to the world the sea, the prince of all things, great and full; and hard by it, making a noise upon its own; and after all its tumult, lay to its common audience, of a little cloud, or a comet, sometimes compared the issue of unities and famed outside, as well upon her spirit, as the periodical work of every that religion was interested in reputation, but to pardon all, and the salvation of souls, path of heaven: if it gives scatters and dissolves like into a secret hollow, strong and mighty, and great effect at the other end of life, in the days of decay, of her religion, with all the parts of her life, of spirit, a confidence of herself. For though and the greatest expectations in it.

of her youth, and sex, and circumstances; yet, as if she knew nothing of it, she had the meanest opinion of herself; and like a fair taper, when she shined to all the room, yet round about her own station she had cast a shadow and a cloud, and she shined to every body but herself. But the perfectness of her prudence and excellent parts could not be hid; and all her humility and arts of concealment, made the virtues more amiable and illustrious. For as pride sullies the beauty of the fairest virtues, and makes our understanding but like the craft and learning of a devil; so humility is the greatest eminency and art of publication in the whole world; and she, in all her arts of secrecy and hiding her worthy things, was but "like one that hideth the wine, and covers the ointment of her right hand."

I know not by what instrument it happened; but when death drew near, before it made any show upon her body, or revealed itself by a natural signification, it was conveyed to her spirit: she had a strange persuasion that the bringing this world should be her last scene of life: and we have known that the world when she is about to depart herself of her night garment, sometimes speaks rarely, *Magnificen vestem meam propè admota exuit*: sometimes it is prophetic, sometimes God, by a superintending providence working by instruments or accidents of his own, serves the end of his own providence and the salvation of the world; but so it was, that the thought of death dwelt with her, and grew from the first steps of fear, to a consent; from thence to a strange expectation of it: and without the viol

sickness she died, as if she had done it voluntarily, and by design, and for fear her expectation should have been deceived, or that she should seem to have had an unreasonable fear or apprehension; or rather (as one said of Cato), *sic abiit è vitâ ut causam moriendi nactam se esse gauderet*, she died as if she had been glad of the opportunity.

And in this I cannot but adore the providence, and admire the wisdom and infinite mercies of God: for, having a tender and soft, a delicate and fine constitution and breeding, she was tender to pain, and apprehensive of it, as a child's shoulder is of a load and burden: *Grave est teneræ cervici jugum*; and in her often discourses of death, which she would renew willingly and frequently, she would tell, that she feared not death, but she feared the sharp pains of death: *Emori nolo, ne esse mortuam non curo*: the being dead, and being freed from the troubles and dangers of this world, she hoped would be for her advantage; and therefore that was no part of her fear: but she, believing the pangs of death were great, and the use and aids of reason little, had reason to fear lest they should do violence to her spirit and the decency of her resolution: but God, that knew her fears, and her jealousy concerning herself, fitted her with a death so easy, so harmless, so painless, that it did not put her patience to a severe trial. It was not (in all appearance) of so much trouble, as two fits of a common ague; so careful was God to demonstrate to all that stood in that sad attendance, that this soul was dear to him: and that since

if she had done it voluntarily; but her expectation should not be such as to have a rapt apprehension; or rather it is *ritâ ut causam morientis* applied as if she had been glori-

not but adore the providence and infinite mercies of God: soft, a delicate and fine constitution, tender to pain, and apprehensive of a load and burden *jugum*; and in her often she would renew willingly to tell, that she feared not the pains of death: *Emori pro*: the being dead, and her peace and dangers of this world her advantage; and therefore her fear: but she, believing in it, and the use and aids of it, fear lest they should do violence to her resolution; and her jealousy concerning death so easy, so harmless, put her patience to a severe trial (appearance) of so common a thing; so careful that stood in that sad attitude to him; and that his duty towards it, he

began, would also finish her redemption, by a rare providence, and a singular mercy. But that goodness of God, who does so careful a mercy for the ease and security of his servant in this one instance was a great demonstration that apprehension of death is worse than the pains of death, and that God loves to reprove the unreasonableness of our fears, by the mightiness and by the abundance of his mercy.

She had in her sickness (if I may so call it, in the solemnities and graver preparations for death) some curious and well-becoming fears concerning the final state of her soul: but from thence she fell into a *deliquium*, or a kind of trance; and as soon as she came forth of it, as if it had been a vision, or as if she had conversed with an angel, and from him she received a label or scroll of the "Book of Life," where she saw her name enrolled, she cried out, "Glory be to God on high! now I am sure I am saved." Concerning which manner of discovery we are wholly ignorant what judgment can be rendered; certainly there are strange things in the other world, and so there are in all the immediate preparations for death, and a little glimpse of heaven, a minute's conversation with an angel, any ray of God, any communication extraordinary from the Spirit of comfort, which is sent to his servants in strange and unknown manner, infinitely far from illusions; and they shall be understood by us, when we feel them, and when our new and strange needs shall be refreshed by the usual visitations.

But I must be forced to use summaries and arts of abbreviature in the enumerating those things in which his rare personage was dear to God and to all her relatives.

If we consider her person, she was in the flower of her age, *Jucundum cum ætas florida ver ageret*; of a temperate, plain, and natural diet, without curiosity or an intemperate palate; she spent less time in dressing than many servants; her recreations were little and seldom, her prayers often, her reading much: she was of a most noble and charitable soul; a great lover of honourable actions, and as great a despiser of base things; hugely loving to oblige others, and very unwilling to be in arrear to any upon the stock of courtesies and liberality; so free in all acts of favour, that she would not stay to hear herself thanked, as being unwilling that what good went from her to a needful or an obliged person should ever return to her again: she was an excellent friend, and hugely dear to very many, especially to the best and most discerning persons; to all that conversed with her, and could understand her great worth and sweetness: she was of an honourable, a nice, and tender reputation; and of the vanities of this world, which were laid before her in prospect, she took a very small and inconsiderable share, not loving to glut herself with vanity, or take her portion of good things here below.

If we look on her as a wife, she was chaste and loving, careful and discreet, humble and pleasant, witty and

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of the world, but a long life, and a full age.

If we remember her as a mother, she was kind
severe, careful and prudent, very tender, and not a
fond; a greater lover of her children's souls than of t
bodies, and one that would value them more by
strict rules of honour and proper worth, than by
relation to herself.

Her servants found her prudent, and fit to gov
and yet open-handed, and apt to reward; a just ex
of their duty, and a great rewarder of their diligen

She was, in her house, a comfort to her dearest
a guide to her children, a rule to her servants, an
ample to all.

But, as she related to God in the offices of religi
she was even and constant, silent and devout, pru
and material; she loved what she now enjoys, and
feared what she never felt, and God did for her
she never did expect: her fears went beyond all
evil: and yet the good which she hath received
and is, and ever shall be, beyond all her hopes.

She lived as we all should live, and she died as I
would die, —

“ Cum mihi supremos Lachesis perneverit annos,
Non aliter cineres mando jacere meos.”

I pray God I may feel those mercies on my
bed that she felt, and that I may feel the same ef
my repentance which she feels of the many deg
her innocence. Such was her death, that she
die too soon; and her life was so useful and ex
that she could not have lived too long. *Nemo*

diu vixit, qui virtutis perfectæ perfecto functus est munere.

And as now in the grave it shall not be inquired concerning her, how long she lived, but how well; so to us who live after her, to suffer a longer calamity, it may be some ease to our sorrows, and some guide to our lives, and some security to our conditions, to consider that God hath brought the piety of a young lady to the early rewards of a never-ceasing and never-dying eternity of glory: and we also, if we live as she did, shall partake of the same glories; not only having the honour of a good name, and a dear and honoured memory, but the glories of these glories, the end of all excellent labours, and all prudent counsels, and all holy religion, even the salvation of our souls, in that day when all the saints, and among them this excellent woman, shall be shown to all the world to have done more, and more excellent things, than we know of or can describe. *Mors illos consecrat, quorum exitum, et qui timent, laudant:* Death consecrates and makes sacred that person whose excellency was such, that they that are not displeased at the death, cannot dispraise the life; but they that mourn sadly, think they can never commend sufficiently.

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A FUNERAL SERMON.

[BISHOP STILLINGFLEET.]

MATT. xxvi. 39.

*O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass
nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou wilt*

It is not long since we met together in this lament the loss of one hopeful branch of the whereof there are now two more cut off in the of their years, in the midst of their relations, and unexpected stroke of Divine Providence crosses come single, they are hard enough for counter withal; but when one breach make another, when grief follows upon grief, when number and their weight increase together cised patience may be ready to faint, and unacquainted with sorrows may sink under of so heavy a burthen. When afflictions co ally, and keep a good distance from each notice they give us of their approach, and the space between them, make us more fit to but when they come upon us by surprise, as upon the neck of another, they not only be

But grace itself gives way to the first impression, and recovers its power only by gaining time to employ it. But so just and equal is the mixture of these things here below, that those only who have the greatest comforts can have the greatest losses; they only who have many friends to enjoy, have many to lose, and therefore many to lament; and the higher esteem and value they have for them, while they enjoy them, the greater their sorrow and affliction must be when they are deprived of them; so that those very things which, by their presence, make our lives most comfortable, do, by their uncertainty, make them most miserable; and those very passions whereby we most express our joy and satisfaction, do lay the foundation for those which cause our greatest disquiet, to wit, our fears and our griefs; for the more we love, the more we fear to lose: and when we have lost, the more sadness seizes upon our minds by it; so that, upon the principles of nature and reason, we live upon these terms in the world: either we must not expect more and greater blessings than others, or we must expect to go through more and greater crosses and afflictions than others; and therefore all those who value the contentment of their lives, must so proportion their joys as to make account of the sorrows which are consequent upon them; if they would have their troubles lessened, their comforts must be so too; if they would have greater ease in their sufferings, they must have less delight in their enjoyments; if we have our days of prosperity, wherein we rejoice more than others, we must look for our days of adversity, wherein to con-

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adversity, wherein too
"God hath set these

against the other" (Eccles. vii. 14.), to the end that
those who have the largest share of the one must ex-
pect it in the other also.

Yea, so great and universal a connection there
between joys and sufferings, that one seems to make
way for the other, the latter being so necessary a pre-
paration for the former, that the Son of God, when he
was to be made partaker of that infinite "joy that was
set before him," found the way to it to be by the
greatest sufferings; he must "despise the shame and
endure the cross," before he could attain it; he who was
to be the "author of eternal salvation to all that obey
him," did "learn obedience by the things which
suffered," and "in the days of his flesh offered up pray-
ers and supplications, with strong crying and tears, unto
him that was able to save him from death;" among
which we have none more remarkable than that
read of here in the text, where it is said that he
upon his knees, and said, "O my Father, if it be pos-
sible, let this cup pass from me: nevertheless, not as
I will, but as thou wilt;" which words were chosen
that truly virtuous and religious lady, at whose funeral
we are now met, to be the subject of our present
course; which are very considerable, whether we con-
sider the occasion of them, or the matter contained
in them.

I. The occasion of them: he was
that the hour of his enemies was come
of darkness."* He had hitherto been
down doing good, but now the time

* Heb. xii. 2.

* Heb. v. 7, 8, 9.

cting the more sad and tragical part of his life; and that he might the better prepare himself for it, he withdrew from the city, and he and his disciples pass over the brook Cedron, and go to a place at the foot of the Mount of Olives, called Gethsemane (ver. 36.), that is, a place where many olive presses were. Here was the garden our Saviour usually retired into, as appears, Luke, xxii. 39.; and when he came thither, as Abraham left his servants behind him, when he was to sacrifice his son on Mount Moriah (Gen. xxii. 5.), so did our Saviour leave his disciples at some distance from him, when he was preparing himself for that great sacrifice, whereby he offered up himself to God. And now begins the time of his agony, and that vehement conflict which was between the inclinations of his nature and the purpose of his will, from the sense of which he cries out to his disciples (ver. 38.), “My soul is exceedingly sorrowful, even unto death;” than which there can be no expression higher, either respecting the extension of it, that his sorrow would continue unto death, or the attention of it, that it was a deadly sorrow, so great and heavy, that none can be imagined greater; hence it is said (Mark, xiv. 33.), that he did begin *ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι καὶ ἀδημονεῖν*, to be sore amazed, and very heavy. *ἀδημονεῖν* is *λίαν λυπεῖσθαι*, saith Suidas, to be exceedingly sorrowful, and *ἀγωνιᾶν*, saith Hesychius, to be in an agony (see Luke, xxii. 44.); which appears by the circumstance of it, that he sweat as it were drops of blood; which seems not to be a mere comparison, or an hyperbolical expression, but to be that which the physicians

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and hot as to find a passage out at the pores of t
 body, as in an extraordinary sweat it may do, by raref
 ing the tunicles of the vessels, wherein the blood run
 so Maldonate tells us of one at Paris, in his time, w
 had drops of blood mingled with his sweat, at the he
 ing the sentence of death pronounced against hi
 though a person of a very strong constitution; b
 much more easily may it be supposed in so tender a
 delicate a temper as our Saviour was of. But he sin
 not under the fears of his nature, but shows us wh
 way best to relieve ourselves under all our troub
 which is, by our prayers to that God who alone is a
 to deliver us out of them, or support us under the
 so our Saviour now prays according to the pres
 depth of his sorrow, with the greater vehemency
 earnestness, "O my Father, if it be possible, let
 cup pass from me," &c.

II. The matter of the words; wherein we cons
 four things: 1. The person to whom he makes
 address, "O my Father." 2. The matter of his
 quest, "let this cup pass from me." 3. The manne
 the earnestness of it, "if it be possible." 4. The
 mission of it, "nevertheless, not my will, but thin
 done."

I. The person to whom this address is made,
 my Father;" that notes three things: 1. His love
 tenderness. 2. His care and providence. 3. Hi
 terest and relation.

1. His love and tenderness, "O my Fath
 words of greater emphasis than all the rhetoric ima
 able, such as express the bowels and compassion of

II. SERMON. [BY J. J. J.]

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NGFLEET,] A FUNERAL SERMON.

and considerest that they are
 r pitieth his children, so dost thou t
 show thy pity towards me now, in
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 let it not sink under the weight wh
 ; charge no more upon it than thou
 endure; let it not fail in the be
 encounter; let not the garden wh
 olgotha; but, as thou hast hitherto
 will, let me go on to suffer it. for
 my Father: therefore, leave not my
 nor suffer thine Holy One to faint

rest and relation. "O my Father!"
 Father before ever the world was
 me into the world upon thy love
 I had hitherto, covered me in it fo
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 sence of the people, trust me, that
 since from heaven, that I am
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to his children: "Where is thy zeal and thy strength, the sounding of thy bowels and mercy towards me? Doubtless thou art our father," saith the Church," Isa. lxiii. 15., implying all the love and tenderness imaginable in that relation. If it were so to the Church, how much more to the Son of God himself, concerning whom he had declared, "This is my well-beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased!" Might not he with confidence pray to him to be delivered from his fears and agonies? If there were so much force in those words of Cæsar to Brutus, "And thou, my son!" to upbraid him with his disingenuity, there is as great in these to prevail with God for kindness and favour: "O my Father!" which is as much as if he had said, "If thou hast ever owned me for thy son, and hast the pity of a father towards me, rescue me from my present sorrows and future pains. I need plead no more with thee than that thou art my father; I have hitherto glorified thy name, and done the work thou sentest me to do; if it be agreeable to thy infinite love and wisdom, I pray thee free me from that bitter cup which I am now to drink so deeply of."

2. His care and providence, "O my Father," who hast always been a refuge to thy people in the day of their troubles! O thou that hast expressed thy power and thy goodness in the preservation of thy children, in the midst of all their distresses! O thou whose eye is always watchful for their good, and whose hand is stretched out for their rescue in the hour of temptation! O thou whose pity to thy creatures is equal to

SERMON. [BY STILLINGFLEET.]

BY STILLINGFLEET.] A FUNERAL SERMON.

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I am be my Golgotha; but, as thou hast hitherto en
me to do thy will, let me go on to suffer it; for c
less thou art my Father: therefore, leave not my s
these agonies, nor suffer thine Holy One to faint i
time of trial.

3. His interest and relation, "O my Father!"
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paternal love and kindness towards me; thou wh
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when thou threatenedst to punish, reject not the humble supplications of thy Son, who thus begs for himself, that, if it be possible this cup may pass from him !

2. And surely it must be some extraordinary matter which the Son of God was so earnest with his Father to be delivered from ; which may either relate to what he then felt, or to what he feared : if to what he felt, it was to be eased of those bitter agonies of his soul, which he was then under ; or if, as it is most probable, it related to what he feared, then it was his earnest prayer that if it were agreeable with the will and wisdom of God, he might be delivered from that bitterness of death, which he foresaw he was shortly to undergo. And this he was so earnest in, that he not only pleads with God by ordinary arguments, but goes to the utmost degrees of possibility in his present circumstances : which is the third thing.

3. The manner and earnestness of our Saviour's request ; “ if it be possible.” St. Luke therefore saith, that our Saviour “ prayed more earnestly,” that is, with greater vehemency of expression now than at any other time. He doth not plead any promise from God, but urgeth him with the extent of his power, and the consistency of what he prayed for with the design that God had to carry on in the world ; not but that it was absolutely possible for God to have delivered his Son from all his sufferings, but that the earnestness is seen in that, that now, if his end could be carried any other way than by drinking that bitter cup, he begs that it

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Father! I am now designed for a bloody sacrifice to be offered up to thyself by the hands of cruel malicious men; but I know their power can extend farther than thy will is to let them go; if it be therefore agreeable to those infinite ends of goodness, justice, and wisdom, which I came into this world to accomplish, that I may escape the fury and malice of these men, and that bitter death which they design for, appear now in my behalf, and let them see how much greater thy love to me is, than their great malice against me. If any other way may be found whereby I may become an expiation for the sins of the world, than by being delivered into the hands of unreasonable men, now appear for the vindication of my innocence, and thine own honour, which is concerned in it. Is there no other way to purge the world from sin, but by adding to the number of it in taking away my life? Will no other sacrifice appease thine anger, that of thy Son's blood? Is there no other means of atoning thy Majesty, but by making my soul an offering for sin? Why must I pass through so many grievous pains, and such a shameful death? Thou may 'make an end of sin and bring in everlasting righteousness,' exalt me to thy glory now; and then by thy power and grace I will bring the world to the knowledge of thee; then the great offence will be prevented, which will be taken by the world at so ignominious a death of the Son of God; then thy power and goodness will be seen without any impeachment of thine honour and justice in the punishment of so innocent a person as thou knowest me to be; then thy love to thy Son

to mankind will be seen together. Oh let me not become a reproach to the foolish, a scorn to the proud, and a sacrifice to malicious men! But, if this be the way, which in thine infinite wisdom thou judgest most fit to declare to the world thy hatred against sin, and thy love to all that shall repent of it; to manifest thy justice and thy mercy together; to persuade the world by the most powerful arguments to obedience and thankfulness; if this be the way whereby thou hast designed to advance my humanity to power and glory; here I am, and I show myself to be a sacrifice to thee, by thus offering up my will to thee, and by conquering the contrary inclinations of my nature, that I may not be only a sin-offering, but a freewill offering to thee; and therefore, ‘not as I will, but as thou wilt:’” in which words we have —

4. The patient submission of Christ to the will of God; wherein we have two things:

1. The seeming repugnancy between the will of God and of Christ.

2. The submission of the will of Christ to the will of God: “not as I will, but as thou wilt.”

1. The seeming repugnancy between the will of God and of Christ: not as though Christ had really any other purpose or design than what God had intended him for; but this only speaks the strength of his natural inclinations and the averseness of his human nature to the sufferings he was to undergo. But if it be asked why the human nature of Christ was liable to such infirmities as these are, a sufficient account of

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1. It showed a greater power of goodness to conquer these natural inclinations, than not to have them at all. There is no virtue at all to be wholly insensible of pain, and if this were a perfection, stocks and stones would be the most excellent creatures. Our Saviour, who was freed from the sinful imperfections of human nature, yet was not without the natural: to let us see that these are not inconsistent with the greatest goodness, and that the power of grace is seen in keeping of ourselves from being mastered by them. If Christ had been in our nature, and wholly exempted from the common infirmities which do attend it, the world would have questioned whether he had been truly man or no (as some did, notwithstanding,) or if he were, how his actions could have been a pattern for us to follow, since he had not those things to combat withal, which we are encompassed about with. To satisfy us, therefore, of these things, the Son of God finds agonies in his breast, when he was going to suffer; thereby discovering to us that the truest patience is not a stony apathy, but a due government of our natural inclinations, so that they break forth into nothing repugnant to the will of God.

2. That he might have greater compassion towards his people under all their infirmities. This the Apostles thought to be a very great reason why our Saviour was encompassed about with infirmities, and was in all things tempted as we are, that he might, as our high-price, be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, and have compassion on us whilst we are wrestling with them. He knows what human nature is, and what

its passions and weaknesses are ; he knows the combats of our minds, and the vehement inclinations of our natures ; he knows how ill we can bear with the thoughts of death, especially when infamy is added to it, and therefore we may with greater assurance draw nigh to him who is so ready, and knows to pity ; having himself been once in the body, and therefore knows what the weight and burden of it is. If we weep for the loss of friends, we read, when Lazarus was dead, that Jesus wept ; if we are in agonies, and combats in our minds, when death approacheth us, Christ himself was so before us ; if we pray with vehemency and earnestness for God to deliver us from reproach and pain, and the bitterness of death, the Son of God did so when he was encompassed with the infirmities of our nature ; only, as we follow him in the inclinations of his nature, let us do so too in a due submission to God's will, notwithstanding them : “ Nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou wilt.”

2. Which is the second thing considerable, wherein we see nature striving, but grace triumphing in the conquest of it. It is the great glory of grace not to extirpate, but to conquer and govern natural inclinations ; to raise the mind of a man above them, to a full resignation of itself to the wisdom and counsel of Heaven ; when, in imitation of our Saviour, we come to say, “ O God, if it be possible, keep the bitterness of death from me, rescue me from the power of the grave, and from the fears of that great devourer ; spare me a little longer, that I may not be cut off in the midst of

while I am yet green, and not ripe for the grave; continue me at least in a capacity to serve thee here." These are expressions justifiable by our Saviour's words; but yet, as these show the inclinations of our nature, we are then most happy, when, through the power of divine grace, we can conclude all, as Christ doth here, with that entire submission to the will of God, "Nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou wilt."

Two things may be here enforced :

I. There is an aversion in human nature from the pangs and bitterness of death.

II. That notwithstanding that, there are grounds of submission to the will of God in it.

1. That there is an aversion in human nature from the pangs and bitterness of death. This was apparent in our Lord himself; and therefore no wonder if it be found in us, in whom it ariseth from some or all of these following causes.

1. From the natural love that is in us of this present life, and the comforts of it. The soul and body, after so close an union with each other, are very unwilling to part; because the soul will then miss its companion and servant, and the body its life and motion. This breeds a natural abhorrency of death, as of a state of violence and separation; and therefore no wonder if there be a regret in men's minds at the first apprehension of it. But, besides this, the contentments which men have enjoyed in this present state, and the agreeableness of them to the way we now judge of things by, make us more averse to the thoughts of leaving this, and entering into that which we have had no experience at all of; so

that were there nothing in death but a change of state, that would make the thoughts of it troublesome and unpleasing to us; especially when we think we must forego all those contentments of life, which we have sometimes thought to have been more dear to us than life itself; when the bonds of dearest relations are suddenly dissolved, and the ties of the closest friendship broken in pieces; when husband and wife, who have lived so long together in the most intimate friendship as well as union, shall in a moment be parted as far as heaven and earth from one another; when the tender mother shall be torn away from the embraces of her children, and the children snatched out of the mother's arms, and that without hopes of seeing each other again till the great day of resurrection: these things must needs cause a natural aversion from death in us.

2. The apprehension of the consequents of death, works an aversion in human nature. Though death in itself be unpleasing, yet it never appears so dreadful as when it is represented to us with all that train which follows it. The fears of pains in death make it terrible to tender and delicate natures; but the fears of the pains which may follow it, as to us, make it dreadful to the most wise and considering. Were it only to leave this world, the disappointments, and cares, and vexations of it, would, at one time or other, make most persons contented to part with it; but to think of the great tribunal, and the account which must there be given,

well contented with the troubles of this life, may escape the miseries of another.

3. Want of a firm confidence in God; not so much out of a distrust of God as of themselves, as they think but really there is a mighty distrust of God which makes them unwilling to venture themselves upon his word and promises. No wonder if they be afraid of dying who are distrustful of God for such cannot assure themselves what God will do with them in another world: and an almighty God may justly affright those who have no firm dependence on almighty goodness.

II. That there are sufficient grounds of submission to the will of God in this, as in any other instance of divine providence; and a threefold consideration suggested to us in the words of the text: 1. It is a cup; 2. It is a father that gives it; and 3. It is a will that we should drink of it.

1. It is a cup.

1. It is a cup that must be drunk at one time or other by us: some may escape it longer than others but the best, the wisest, the strongest, the most virtuous must all taste the same bitter cup; and therefore should we complain when it comes to our turn to drink of it which can never be avoided ought always to be borne for. God gives us warning enough; we see the cup is full round, and some younger than ourselves have drunk off already; and why should we think our case any better than others, if it comes to our share at last?

2. It is a cup that may have more sweet than bitter in it, if it be not our fault: it is

salvation to all them that obey the Gospel of Christ; it is that which will bring deliverance to them from all the fears, troubles, and temptations which they have conflicted with in this life; it is that which will not only put an end to their sorrows, but conduct them into the mansions of bliss and happiness: and what then should make them think much of drinking that without which they can never enjoy what they most desire?

3. It is a cup that our Saviour himself hath tasted before us, even he who prayed here to be delivered from it; yet he submitted to it with great patience; he drunk off the dregs of it himself, that so the bitterness of it may not come to our share. Our Physician hath encouraged us to drink off this potion, by taking off the greatest and bitterest part himself. Why should we complain, when the Son of God submitted on purpose that we should have no reason to complain? He hath cleared the way, secured the passage, and gone before us in it to glory; and shall we think our case hard, that we are to follow after him to so glorious an end?

2. It is a father that gives the cup.

1. A father, that knows what is fittest to be given us; he knows both what and when it is most suitable for us; he suffers not these things to be managed by blind and uncertain causes, but hath the disposal of them all in his own hands: a father, that is infinitely wiser than we are, and we are always safe when we yield our wills to his; therefore our Saviour elsewhere speaks, "The cup which my Father hath given me to drink shall I not drink it?"

that it is a cup of a father's giving, than there bitterness in the cup itself. He is the moderator the governor of this society; he distributeth the when and to whom he pleaseth, and we ought to it, as receiving it from his hands.

2. A father, that stands by his children to help assist them; that is ready to give them strength proportionable to their trial; that will never leave them the hour of temptation, but will find a way for their escape, or enable them to bear it; even in the midst the valley of the shadow of death he hath a rod to guide them and a staff to uphold them; and why, then, should they be afraid?

3. A father, that will abundantly reward the taker of what he gives; he stands ready with a crown in his hand to reward those that endure patiently to the end, and that with a reward infinite and unconceivable, which we may sooner hope to enjoy than to comprehend. And what greater reason of submission can there be than this?

3. It is the will of a father that it should be so; therefore,

1. It is to no purpose to resist; we are not able the least, to stand it out against him, or to defend ourselves one minute from his power; and why, should we ever dispute the cause with God? He contendeth with the Almighty, let him instruct him that reproveth God, let him answer it. Can you reach his wisdom, frustrate his counsels, disappoint his purposes, confine his power, impeach his justice? I why do you not comply with his most holy will?

2. It is our greatest interest to submit; for there is reason and power on God's side, and there is duty and interest on ours. How quiet might our minds be in all conditions, if we would leave God to govern our affairs, and take care only of ourselves to govern our minds! God doth not deny us the liberty of praying to him, when we find the bitter cup coming near, that, if it be possible, it may pass from us; but let us still be sure to bring our minds to our Saviour's temper at last, to conclude all with an entire submission to God, and to say as he did, "Nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou wilt."

And thus it was with that excellent person at whose funeral we are now met together, who, when in the beginning of her sickness she had prayed that this cup might pass from her, and afterwards, that if it seemed good to God, it might not pass from her, yet concluded both with an equal submission to God's will, and said still, "Not my will, but thine be done."

And having thus done with the text, I hope I may have the greater liberty to speak concerning this deceased lady, because of the great opportunity Divine Providence hath of late given me of knowing things concerning her, both in her health and sickness; in both which I observed her to play a person, that if we follow her example, we neither be ashamed to live nor afraid to die. Therefore I hope what I shall say concerning her is far from any suspicion of flattery, for I come not hither to flatter any, but

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as she would have valued them had she been ; among us: but excellent examples ought not slightly passed over by us ; it is part of our those who have been more than ordinarily good serve their memories, and, by proposing their to encourage others to be so too. I need not therefore, of those things which were commenself with many other persons of her rank and in the world ; nor of the endowments of her mind were more than ordinary ; nor of her singular in the management of domestic affairs ; nor of affection to her husband, her care and good go of her children, her faithfulness and sincerity friends, her universal civility and obliging c all: all which are, indeed, very commendable and remarkable in her : yet, having so great of matter to speak of, I shall confine myself things which were the most eminent in herself serve the most to be imitated by others, in a which were especially considerable, —

1. Her great seriousness in religion ; for she off her great work till she came to die, and her die with comfort. She knew was a God who made her live here and there, and that she was a religious person that she should be so.

eternal welfare and salvation of souls did depend. And as one that loved religion, and judged it her greatest friend, she conversed most with it in private, in her secret retirements twice a day, wherein she did not pray and read the Scriptures or other books of piety merely to satisfy herself or others that she had done them, but took an account of herself of her improvement by them; and no occasion or company, though otherwise never so pleasing to her, were thought a sufficient excuse by her for neglecting the great matters of her soul. She was very inquisitive after the matters of her soul and future state, and her preparations were according to her inquiries. She lived in an expectation of dying, and therefore made provision beforehand for her departure out of this world. Her most intimate friends she discoursed withal most freely about the great affairs of eternity, and thought no time spent so well improved as that which was spent in order to them. Her zeal for religion was proportionable to the weight of things, thinking some things as much beneath it, either in being for or against them, as for men to be eternally disputing about the colours of the rainbow, or the figure of the motes which fly in the air.

2. Her great humility and mean apprehension of herself. I scarce ever met with one who had a truer understanding of the matters of greatest consequence, joined with a greater diffidence of herself, than she always expressed. This made her not so much known as otherwise she might have been, but it made her so much the more valued by all that knew her. She used

vation of souls did depend upon, and judged it her most with it in private a day, wherein she did read or other books of piety, and that she had done herself of her improvement by any, though otherwise she thought a sufficient excuse for matters of her soul. She was according to her expectation of dying beforehand for her dear most intimate friends, and about the great affliction spent so well in order to them. Her mind was not so much troubled to the weight of the rainbow, or the figure of

and mean apprehensions; with one who had a sense of greatest consequence of herself, than she was not so much troubled, but it made her that knew her. She expressed it least;

in those discourses, in which she would sit by unconcerned, she was a careful observer, and judge of the things, though not of the persons.

3. Her great contempt of the world. It is a greater instance of this nature cannot be met with one that did less value the things that others value their souls for than she did; often declaring that she knew no other considerable use of the world but to do good by it: and this she would frequently attribute, as one of the good effects of it, to her sickness she formerly had, which she told me of her last sickness she had yet cause to bless God for, because by that she understood the world much less and consequently valued it much less, than ever before: and although she had great contentment in this world in her near friends and relations, her mind was still kept above them; and consequently she declared to me in her health, with what contentment she could part with all the things in the world, and if there was nothing more, she said, to be dead than only that, she wondered that any man was afraid of it: which discovered her great contempt of the vanity of this life, and the great things of the world, and the certainty of that to come. But while she lived in the world, she hated to be unuseful in it, and the very exemplary; for,

4. Her charity and readiness to do good; that upon all occasions, where she knew or could find out objects fit to express her kindness upon; I have heard, before she came to the enjoyment

plentiful estate she lived in before her death, laid aside considerable sums to be disposed of that way. If she heard of any poor that were sick, she would first understand what it was they most wanted, and that she was sure to provide for them, without being asked. Thus she showed her religion to be "pure and undefiled," by not only "keeping herself from" the least suspicion of "the pollution of the world," but by "visiting the fatherless and widows in their afflictions." Thus she lived in the world as one that will be missed now she is gone, and yet as one who prepared herself for her going out of it; and, some time before her last sickness, she would often let fall expressions, while she went with her last child, that the time was coming when an end would be put to all her troubles here; and this, upon her first illness after her delivery, she was very apprehensive of, and expressed it to those about her. Although, at first, she had some fears and strugglings in her nature from the apprehension of death; yet, when her fits seized upon her with more than ordinary violence, she lay with the greatest willingness to die, and not only so, but rejoicing in the hopes of it, and praying earnestly that it might come to pass; and when, in her last convulsion fits, we were praying for her life, she, during the intermissions she had, prayed as earnestly for her departure out of the world; and God was pleased by the sad event to declare that her prayers were more agreeable to his will than ours were, by

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A FUNERAL SERMON.

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providence, but let us follow our Saviour, not only
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he said, "Not as I will, but as thou wilt."

ON OUR PUTTING OFF THESE BODIES.

[WILLIAM SHERLOCK, D.D.]

THE SECOND NOTION OF DEATH, THAT IT IS OUR PUTTING OFF THESE BODIES.

LET us now consider death, as it is our putting off these bodies ; for this is the proper notion of death, the separation of soul and body, that the body returns to dust, the soul or spirit unto God who gave it. When we die, we do not cease to be, nor cease to live, but only cease to live in these earthly bodies. The vital union between soul and body is dissolved ; we are no longer encloistered in a tabernacle of flesh, we no longer feel the impressions of it ; neither the pains nor pleasures of the body can affect us ; it can charm, it can tempt no longer. This needs no proof, but very well deserves our most serious meditations.

For, 1. This teaches us the difference and distinction between soul and body, which men who are sunk into flesh and sense are apt to forget ; nay, to lose the very notion and belief of it. All their delights are fleshly ; they know no other pleasures but what their five senses furnish them with ; they cannot raise their thoughts above this body, nor entertain any noble designs ; and

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and blood, a little organised and animated clay ; and is no great wonder, that men who feel the workings and motions of no higher principle of life in them but flesh and sense, should imagine that they are nothing flesh themselves. Though, methinks, when we see senseless and putrefying remains of a brave man before us, it is hard to conceive that this is all of him, — this is the thing which, some few hours ago, could reason and discourse, was fit to govern a kingdom, to instruct mankind ; could despise flesh and sense, govern all his bodily appetites and inclinations, and adorned with all divine graces and virtues, was the glory and pride of the age. And is this dead carcass which we now see, the whole of him ? Or was there a more divine inhabitant, which animated this earthly machine, which gave life, and beauty, and motion, but is now removed ?

To be sure, those who believe that death does not put an end to their being, but only removes them from this body, which rots in the grave, while their souls survive, live, and act, and may be happy in a better state, should carefully consider this distinction between soul and body, which would teach them a most useful and heavenly wisdom.

For when we consider that we consist of soul and body, which are the two distinct parts of man, it should teach us to take care of both. For can any man believe he has a soul, be concerned only for his body ? A compound creature cannot be happy, unless all parts of him enjoy their proper pleasures. He who enjoys only the pleasures of the body is never truly

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of the ease of the mind too? To quiet and calm passions which, when they grow outrageous, are intolerable than all natural or artificial torture moderate those desires, which rage like hunger and thirst; those fears which convulse the mind with trembling and paralytic motions; those furious tempers, anger, revenge, and envy, which ruffle our mind and fill us with vexation, restlessness, and confused thoughts; especially those guilty reflections upon ourselves, that worm in the conscience which gnaws the soul, and torments us with shame and remorseful expectations of an avenger? These are the sicknesses and distempers of the soul; these are indeed, more sharp and pungent and killing pains than our bodies are capable of: "The spirit of a man can bear his infirmity;" natural courage, or the power of reason, or the comforts of religion, can support all other sufferings; "but a wounded spirit who can bear?" and therefore a man who loves ease, should in the first place, take care of the ease of his mind, and will make all other sufferings easy; but nothing can support a man whose mind is wounded.

as much excel the pleasures of seeing, as truth is more beautiful and glorious than the sun. Ask them what a pleasure it is to know God, the greatest and best being, and the brightest object of our minds; to contemplate his wisdom and goodness and power in the works of creation and providence; to be swallowed up in that stupendous mystery of love, the redemption of sinners, by the incarnation and sufferings of the Son of God? Ask them what the pleasures of innocence and virtue are? what the feast of a good conscience means? which is the greatest happiness, to give or to receive? what the joys even of sufferings and persecutions, of want and poverty, and reproach are for the sake of Christ? Ask a devout soul, what transports and ravishment of spirit he feels, when he is upon his knees, when, with St. Paul, he is even snatched up into the third heavens, filled with God, overflowing with praises and divine joys? And does it not, then, become a man, who has a reasonable soul, to seek after these rational, these manly, these divine pleasures, the pleasures of the mind and spirit, which are proper and peculiar to a reasonable creature? Let him do this, and then let him enjoy the pleasures of the body as much as he can, which will be very insipid and tasteless, when his soul is ravished with more noble delights.

In a word, if we are so careful to preserve the life of our bodies, which we know must die, and rot and putrefy in the grave, methinks we should not be less careful to preserve the life of our souls, which is the only immortal part of us. For, though our souls cannot die, as our

eternal death, where the worm never dieth, and never goeth out. For to be always miserable, finitely worse than not to be at all; and therefore most formidable death. And if we are so unwi part with these mortal bodies, we ought in reasc much more afraid to lose our souls.

II. That death is our putting off these bodies, us, that the soul is the only principle of life and tion. The body cannot live without the soul; soon as it is parted from it, it loses all sense and and returns to its original dust; but the soul does live without the body, and therefore there principle of life. This may be thought a very and obvious observation; and indeed so it is; consequences of this are not so commonly obser yet are of great use and moment.

For, 1. This shows us, that the soul is the k of us, — that the soul, indeed, is the man, beca the only seat of life and knowledge, and all ser for a man is a living, reasonable, and under being; and therefore a living, reasonable soul earthly body, which has no life or sense but derives from the soul) must be the man. H Scripture, soul so frequently signifies the man: read of the souls that were born to Jacob, and that came with him into Egypt (Gen. xlvii.), th sons. And soul signifies ourselves; “a friend as thy own soul;” that is, as dear to us as c Deut. xiii. 6. “And Jonathan loved David a soul;” that is, as himself. 1 Sam. xviii. 3. propriety of speech, the body has no sense at

ON OUR PUTTING OFF [SHERLOCK.

soul lives in the body, and feels all the motions and passions of it; so that it is the soul only that is cause of happiness or misery, of pain or pleasure; and therefore it is the only concernment of a wise man to take care of his soul; as our Saviour tells us: "What shall it profit a man, though he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul; or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?" Matt. xvi. 26. The reason which is easily apprehended, when we remember that the soul only is capable of happiness or misery; that it is the soul which must enjoy every thing else: and what the whole world then signify to him who has no power to enjoy it, — whose soul is condemned to endless eternal miseries? Such a miserable soul is as incapable of enjoying the world, or any thing in it, as if it had lost its being.

Hence we learn the true notion of bodily pleasures, that they are such pleasures that the soul feels by its union to the body; for it is not the body that feels the pleasures, but the soul, though the body be the instrument of them. And therefore, how fond soever we are of them, we may certainly conclude that bodily pleasures are the meanest pleasures of human nature; because the union to these earthly bodies is the meanest and most despicable state of reasonable souls. These are not its proper and genuine pleasures, which must flow from its own nature and powers; but are only sensual impressions, the light and superficial touches of the world; and it would be very absurd to conceive that

pineness from its affinity and alliance to matter ; and its greatest pleasures should be owing to external impressions, not to the acting of its own natural faculties and powers : which may convince us, as I observed before, that the pleasures of the mind are much the greatest and noblest pleasures of the man : and he would be truly happy must seek for it, not in the entertainments, but in the improvements and exercise of reason and religion.

Thirdly, hence we learn also that the body was made for the soul, not the soul for the body ; as that which in itself has no life and sense is made for the use of that which has. The body is only a convenient habitation for the soul in this world, an instrument of trial and exercise of virtue ; but the soul is to direct the body and to govern it, to taste its pleasures, set bounds to them, to make the body serve the ends and purposes of reason and virtue, not to subject reason to passion and sense. If the body was made for the use of the soul, it was never intended that the soul should wholly conform itself to it, and by its sympathy with corporeal passions, transform itself into a sensual and brutish nature ; such degenerate creatures as those who live only to serve the body, who seek for nothing else, and seek for nothing else, but to gratify their appetites and lusts ; which is, to in order of nature, to fall in love with their slaves, to change fortunes and shackles with them : that our Saviour might well say, “ He that committeth himself to be the servant of sin.” For this is a vile and unbecoming subjection, to serve the body, which was made

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own naked eyes, sees what was invisible before then we are in the other world, when we can and converse with it. Thus St. Paul tells us, "when we are at home in the body, we are absent from the Lord; but when we are absent from the Lord, we are present with the Lord." 2 Cor. v. 6. 8. Methinks this is enough to cure us of our fondness for these bodies, unless we think it more desirable to be confined to a prison, and to look through a grate all our lives, which gives us but a very narrow prospect, than to be set at liberty to view all the glories of the world. What would we give, now, for the least glimpse of that invisible world which the first step we take out of these bodies will present us with? There are such things "as eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive." Death opens our eyes, enlarges our prospect, presents us with a new and more glorious world, which we can never see while we are shut up in flesh, which should make us as willing to part with this veil as to take film off of our eyes which hinders our sight.

IV. If we must put off these bodies, methinks we should not much glory nor pride ourselves in them, nor spend too much of our time about them. For why should that be our pride, why should that be our business, which we must shortly part with? And yet, as for pride, these mortal corruptible bodies, and what relates to them, administer most of the occasions of it.

Some men glory in their birth, and in their descent from noble ancestors and ancient families; which, be

sides the vanity of it, for if we trace our pedigree to their original, it is certain that all our families are equally ancient and equally noble; for we descend all from Adam; and in such a long descent as this, no man can tell whether there have not been beggars and princes in those which are the noblest and ancientest families now:—yet, I say, what is all this but to pride ourselves in our bodies, and our bodily descent, unless men think that their souls are derived from their parents too? Indeed, our birth is so very ignoble, whatever our ancestors are, or however it may be dissembled with some pompous circumstances, that no man has any reason to glory in it; for the greatest prince is born like the wild ass's colt. Others glory in their external beauty; which, how great and charming soever they be, is but the beauty of the body, which, if it be spared by sickness and old age, must perish in the grave; death will spoil those features and colours which are now admired, and after a short time, there will be no distinction between this beautiful body and common dust. Others are guilty of greater vanity than this, and what nature has denied, they supply by art; they adorn their bodies with rich attire, and many times such bodies as will not be adorned; and then they glory in their borrowed features. But what a sorry beauty is that which they cannot carry into the other world. And if they must leave their bodies in the grave, I think there will be no great occasion in the other world for their rich and splendid apparel, which

wants and conveniences and pleasures of the
And therefore, to pride ourselves in riches, is to
in the body too; to think ourselves more consid-
than other men, because we can provide better for
bodies than they can. And what a mean and
temptible vice is pride, whose subject and occasio
mean and contemptible! To pride ourselves in
bodies which have so ignoble an extraction, are
short a continuance, and will have so ignoble an
must lie down in the grave, and be food for worms.

As for the care of our bodies, that must unavoid-
take up great part of our time, to supply the ne-
ties of nature, and to provide the conveniences of
but this may be for the good of our souls too, as
labour and industry, and ingenious arts are: but
men to spend their whole time in sloth and luxu-
eating, and drinking, and sleeping, in dressing
adorning their bodies, or gratifying their lus-
this is to be vile slaves and servants to the bodies
bodies which neither need nor deserve this from
after all our care they will tumble into dust, and
only much the sooner for our indulgence of them.

V. If death be our putting off these bodies, then
certain that we must live without these bodies till
resurrection; nay, that we must always live with-
such bodies as these are: for though our bodies
rise again, yet they shall be changed and transfo-
into a spiritual nature; as St. Paul expressly tells
1 Cor. xv. 42, 43, 44.: "It is sown in corruption,
raised in incorruption; it is sown in dishonour,
raised in glory; it is sown in weakness, it is raised

power ; it is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body :” for, as he adds, ver. 50., “ Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, neither can corruption inherit incorruption.” Which is true of a fleshly soul ; but here is understood of a body of flesh and blood, which is of a corruptible nature ; as our reason may satisfy us that such gross earthly bodies as we now carry about with us cannot live and subsist in those pure regions of light and glory which God inhabits ; no more than you can lodge a stone in the air, or breathe nothing but pure ether : and therefore our glorified bodies will have none of these earthly passions which these earthly bodies have ; will relish none of the pleasures of flesh and blood ; that upon this account we may truly say, that when we once put off these bodies, we shall ever after live without them.

Now the use of this observation is so very obvious, that methinks no man can miss it ; for when we consider that we must put off these bodies, and for ever live without them, the very next thought in course is, that we ought to live without our bodies now, as much as possibly we can, while we do live in them ; to have but very little commerce with flesh and sense ; to wean ourselves from all bodily pleasures ; to stifle their appetites and inclinations, and to bring them under perfect command and government ; that when we see it fit, we may use bodily pleasures without fondness, or let them alone without being uneasy for want of them ; that is, that we may govern all our bodily appetites, not they

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I grow so fond of this body, and the pleasure if I can relish no other pleasures; if I value else, what shall I do when I leave this body? for pleasures can last no longer than my body does; shall I do in the next world, when I shall be without this body, when I shall be a naked soul? or, if other covering I may have, shall have no flesh about me; and therefore all the pleasures I value will then vanish like a dream; for it is impossible to enjoy bodily pleasures when I have no body, though there were no other punishments in life, yet it is a great pain to me now, to have my desires disappointed or delayed; and should I have the same fondness for these things in the next world where they cannot be had, the eternal desponding them would be punishment enough.

Indeed we cannot tell what alteration our present these bodies will make in the temper and disposition of our minds. We see that a long and severe sickness, while it lasts, will make men absolute philosophers, and give them a great contempt of bodily pleasures; nay, will make the very thoughts of pleasures nauseous to them, which they were very fond of in health. Long fasting and abstinence, and bodily severities, are an excellent means to alter the habits and inclinations of the mind; and I think that to be separated from these bodies would needs make a greater alteration in our minds than either sickness or bodily severities. That I say, that a sensual man, when he is separated from his body, shall feel the same sensual desires and in

ch he had in it, and shall be tormented with a
 ent thirst after those pleasures which he cannot en-
 in a separate state : but this I dare say, that a man
 is wholly sunk into flesh and sense, and relishes no
 r pleasures, is not capable of living happily out of
 body ; unless you could find out a new scene of
 erial and sensible pleasures to entertain him ; for
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or, indeed, setting aside that mischief, which the
 dy lusts and appetites of men, and the immoderate
 of bodily pleasures, do either to the persons them-
 es, or to public societies ; the true reason why we
 : mortify our sensual inclinations, is to improve
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 it cannot thrive together ; sensual and spiritual
 are so contrary to each other, that which of them
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 c. A soul which is ravished with the love of God,
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 s of another life, which feels the passions of devo-
 and is enamoured with the glories and beauties of
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 ures, or be very indifferent about them. And a
 which is under the government of sense and pas-
 cannot taste those more intellectual and divine

to them; and it is impossible we can highly esteem one, without depreciating and undervaluing the other. It is universally true in this case, what our Saviour tells us, "No man can serve two masters; for he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other: ye cannot serve God and Mammon." Matt. vi. 24.

The least beginning of a divine nature in us, is to love God above all the world; and as we every day grow more devoutly and passionately in love with him, and take greater pleasure in the spiritual acts of religion, in praising God, and contemplating the Divine nature and perfections, and meditating on the spiritual glories of another life; so we abate of our value for present things, till we get a perfect conquest and mastery of them. But he who is perfectly devoted to the pleasures of the body, and service of his lusts, has no spiritual life in him; and though putting off these bodies may cure our bodily appetites and passions, it cannot give us a new principle of life, nor work an essential change in a fleshy nature; and therefore a man, when he is removed from this body, and all the enjoyments of it, is capable of no other happiness. Though we are renewed by the Divine Spirit, and have a principle of a new life in us; yet, according to the degree of our love to present things, so much the more indisposed are we for the happiness of unbodied spirits.

And therefore, since we must put off these bodies, if we would live for ever happily without them, we must begin betimes to shake off matter and sense.

different to the pleasures of sense, to use them for the refreshment and necessities of nature, but not to be ever-curious about them: not to be fond of enjoying them, nor troubled for the want of them; never to indulge ourselves in unlawful pleasures, and to be very temperate in our use of lawful ones; to be sure we must take care that the spiritual part, that the sense of God and of religion, be always predominant in us: and this will be a principle of life in us, a principle of divine sensations and joys, when this body shall tumble into dust.

VI. If death be our putting off these bodies, then the resurrection from the dead is the re-union of soul and body. The soul does not die, and therefore cannot be said to rise again from the dead; but it is the body, which, like seed, falls into the earth, and springs up again more beautiful and glorious at the resurrection of the just. To believe the resurrection of the body or of the flesh, and to believe another life after this, are two very different things. The heathens believed a future state, but never dreamed of the resurrection of the body, which is the peculiar article of the Christian faith. And yet it is the resurrection of our bodies, which is our victory and triumph over death; for death was the punishment of Adam's sin, and those who are in a separate state still suffer the curse of the law, "Dust thou art, and to dust thou shalt return." Christ came to deliver us from this curse, by being made a curse for us; that is, to deliver us from death by dying for us. But no man can be said to be delivered from

the power of death still, while his body rots in the grave. Nay, he is properly in a state of death, while he is in a state of separation of soul and body, which is the true notion of death. And therefore St. Paul calls the resurrection of the body, the destroying death. 1 Cor. xv. 25, 26.: "He must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet: the last enemy that shall be destroyed is death." That is, by the resurrection of the dead, as appears from the whole scope of the place, and is particularly expressed, ver. 54, 55, &c.: "So when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass that saying which is written, Death swallowed up in victory. O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory? The sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law: but blessed God who hath given us the victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ." This is the perfection and consummation of our reward, when our bodies shall be raised incorruptible and glorious; when Christ shall change our vile bodies, and make them like to his own glorious body. I doubt not but good men are in a happy state before the resurrection; but yet their happiness is not complete; for the very state of separation is an imperfect state, because a separate soul is not a perfect man. A man, by the original constitution of his nature, consists of a soul and body; and therefore his perfect happiness requires the united glory and happiness of both parts, of the whole man. Which is considered by those who cannot apprehend any reason why the body should rise again; since, as the

ive, the soul might be as completely and perfectly happy without it. But yet the soul would not be an entire and perfect man; for a man consists of soul and body. A soul in a state of separation, how happy soever otherwise it may be, has still this mark of God's displeasure on it, that it has lost its body; and therefore the re-union of our souls and bodies has at least this advantage in it, that it is a perfect restoring of us to the divine favour; that the badge and memorial of our sin and apostacy is done away in the resurrection of our bodies; and therefore this is called "the adoption, viz. the redemption of our body." Rom. viii. 23. For then it is that God publicly owns us for his sons, when he raises our dead bodies into a glorious and immortal life. And besides this, I think we have no reason to doubt but the re-union of soul and body will be a new addition of happiness and glory; for though we cannot guess what the pleasures of glorified bodies are; yet sure we cannot imagine, that when these earthly bodies are the instruments of so many pleasures, a spiritual and glorified body should be of no use. A soul and body cannot be vitally united, but there must be a sympathy between them, and receive mutual impressions from each other; and then we need not doubt, but that such glorified bodies will highly minister, though in a way unknown to us, to the pleasures of a divine and perfect soul; will infinitely more contribute to the divine pleasures of the mind, than these earthly bodies do to our sensual pleasures; that all who have this hope and expectation may, as St. Paul speaks,

adoption, even the redemption of our bodies." Rom. viii. 23. This being the day of the marriage of the Lamb, this consummates our happiness; when our bodies and souls meet again, not to disturb and oppose each other, as they do in this world, where the flesh and the spirit are at perpetual enmity; but to live in eternal harmony, and to heighten and inflame each other's joys. Now this consideration, that death being a putting off these bodies, the resurrection of the dead must be a raising of our bodies into a new and immortal life, and the re-union of them to our souls, suggests many useful thoughts to us. For

This teaches us how we are to use our bodies, how we are to prepare them for immortality and glory. Death, which is the separation of soul and body, is the punishment of sin; and indeed it is the cure of it too, for sin is such a leprosy as cannot be perfectly cleansed without pulling down the house, which it has once infected: but if we would have these bodies raised up again immortal and glorious, we must begin the cleansing and purification of them here. We must be "sanctified throughout, both in body, soul, and spirit." 1 Thess. v. 23. Our bodies must be "the temples of the Holy Ghost," must be holy and consecrated places (1 Cor. vi. 7.) must not be polluted with filthy lusts, if we would have them rebuilt again by the Divine Spirit after the desolations which sin hath made. Thus St Paul tells us at large, Rom. viii. 10, 11, 12, 13.: "And if Christ be in you, the body is dead because of sin, but the spirit is life, because of righteousness:" that is, that divine and holy nature, which we receive from

Christ, will secure the life of our souls, and translate us to a happy state after death; but it will not secure us from the necessity of dying: our bodies must die, as a punishment of sin, and putrefy in the grave; but yet they are not lost for ever: "For if the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall quicken your mortal bodies by his Spirit which dwelleth in you:" that is, if your bodies be cleansed and sanctified, be the temples of the Holy Spirit, he will raise them up again into a new life. "Therefore, brethren, we are debtors, not to the flesh, to live after the flesh; for if ye live after the flesh, ye shall die; but if ye through the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live:" If ye subdue the fleshly principle, if ye bring the flesh into subjection to the Spirit, not only your soul shall live, but your bodies shall be raised again to immortal life. And this is a mighty obligation to us, if we love our bodies, and would have them glorious and immortal, not to pamper the flesh, and gratify its appetites and lusts; not to "yield your members servants to uncleanness, and to iniquity unto iniquity; but to yield your members servants to righteousness unto holiness; that, being made free from sin, and becoming the servants of God, you may have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life;" as the same Apostle speaks, Rom. vii. 19. 22. It is our relation to Christ, that our very bodies are his members; it is our relation to the Holy Spirit, that our bodies are his temples, which entitles our bodies to a glorious resurrection; but will Christ own such bodies for his members, as are mem-

bers of a harlot? Will the Holy Spirit dwell in such a temple as is defiled with impure lusts? And therefore such polluted bodies will rise, as they lie down, in dishonour; will rise, not to immortal life, but to eternal death.

For can we think those bodies well prepared for a glorious resurrection, to be refined into spiritual bodies, which are become ten times more flesh than God made them, which are the instruments of the tempters to all impurity? Is there any reason to expect that such a body should rise again spiritual and glorious, which expires in the flames of lust, which falls a sacrifice in the quarrel of a strumpet, which sinks under the load of its own excesses, and eats and drinks itself into the grave; which scorns to die by Adam's sin, but will die by its own, without expecting till the laws of mortality, according to the ordinary course of nature, must take place?

Holiness is the only principle of immortality both to soul and body. Those love their bodies best, those honour them most, who make them instruments of virtue; who endeavour to refine and spiritualise them, and leave nothing of fleshly appetites and inclinations in them: those are kindest to their bodies, who consecrate them for immortality, who take care they shall rise again into the partnership of eternal joys. All the severities of mortification, abstinence from bodily pleasures, watchings, fastings, hard lodgings, when they are instruments of a real virtue, not the arts of superstition, when they are intended to subdue our lusts, not to purchase a liberty of sinning, are the most real

expressions of honour and respect to these bodies. It shows how unwilling we are to part with them, or to leave them miserable; how desirous we are of their advancement into eternal glories; for the less of flesh they carry to the grave with them, the more glorious will they rise again. This is offering up our bodies a living sacrifice, when we entirely devote them to the service of God; and such living sacrifices shall live forever; for if God receives them a living sacrifice, he will preserve them to immortal life.

But the highest honour we can do these bodies, and noblest use we can put them to, is to offer them up, in proper sense, a sacrifice to God, that is, willingly and cheerfully to die for God when he calls us to suffering: first, to offer up our souls to God in the pure flames of love and devotion; and then freely to give up our bodies to the stake or to the gibbet, to wild beasts, or more savage men. This vindicates our bodies from the natural shame and reproach of death. What we call a natural death is very inglorious; it is a mark of dishonour, because it is a punishment of sin. Such bodies best are sown in dishonour and corruption, as St. Paul speaks; but to die a martyr, to fall a sacrifice to God, this is a glorious death; this is not to yield to the laws of mortality, to necessity and fate, but to give back our bodies to God, who gave them to us; and he will keep that which we have committed to his trust, to a glorious resurrection; and it will be a surprising and astonishing glory with which such bodies shall rise again as have suffered for their Lord; "for if we

which seems to imply, that those shall nearest resemble the glory of Christ himself who suffer as he did.

This is the way to make our bodies immortal and glorious. We cannot keep them long here; they are corruptible bodies, and will tumble into dust; we must part with them for a while, and if ever we expect and desire a happy meeting again, we must use them with modesty and reverence now. We dishonour our bodies in this world, when we make them instruments of wickedness and lust, lay an eternal foundation of shame and infamy for them in the next world; it is a mortal and killing love to cherish the fleshly principle, “make provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof” but if you love your bodies, make them immortal, that though they die, they may rise again out of their graves with a youthful vigour and beauty; that they may live for ever without pain and sickness, without the decay of age, or the interruptions of sleep, or the fatigue and weariness of labour; without wanting either food or raiment, without the least remains of corruption, without knowing what it is to tempt or to be tempted without the least uneasy thought, the least disappointment, the least care, in the full and blissful enjoyment of the eternal and sovereign good.

THE CHURCHING OF WOMEN.

ON THE DUTY OF NURSING CHILDREN

[BISHOP TAYLOR.]

OF NURSING CHILDREN, IN IMITATION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN.

1. THESE later ages of the world have declined a softness above the effeminacy of Asian princes have contracted customs which those innocent healthful days of our ancestors knew not, whose was natural, whose charity was operative, whose was just and valiant, and whose economy was and proportionable to the dispositions and requirements of nature. And in this particular the good world^a gave one of their instances; the greatest sonages nursed their own children, did the women mothers, and thought it was unlikely women become virtuous by ornaments and superadditions of morality, who did decline the laws and prescriptions of nature, whose principles supply us with the firmest common rules of manners and more perfections. In imitation of whom, and especially

^a “ Quod si pudica mulier in partem juvet
 Domum atque dulces liberos,
 (Sabina qualis, aut perusta solibus
 Pernicis uxor Appuli,) . . .
 Non me Lucrina juverint conchylia
 Magis,” &c.

Hor. Epo

Virgin Mary, who was mother and nurse to the holy Jesus, I shall endeavour to correct those softnesses and unnatural rejections of children, which are popular up to a custom and fashion, even where no necessities of nature or just reason can make excuse.

2. And I cannot think the question despicable, and the duty of meanest consideration; although it be specified in an office of small esteem, and suggested to us by the principles of reason, and not by express sanctions of divinity. For although other actions are more perfect and spiritual, yet this is more natural and humane: other things, being superadded to a full duty, rise higher; but this builds stronger, and is like a part of the foundation, having no lustre, but much strength; and however the others are full of ornament, yet this hath in it some degrees of necessity, and possibly is with more danger and irregularity omitted than actions which spread their leaves fairer, and look more gloriously.

3. First. Here I consider that there are many sins in the scene of the body and the matter of sobriety which are highly criminal, and yet the laws of God expressed in Scripture name them not; but men are taught to distinguish them by that reason which is given us by nature, and is imprinted in our understanding in order to the conservation of human kind: for, since every creature hath something in it sufficient to propagate the kind, and to conserve the individuals from perishing in confusions and general disorders, which in beasts we call instinct, that is, an habitual or prime disposition to do certain things which are proportionable to the end

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perfect, must have the like: and because he knows
 makes reflections upon his own acts, and understands
 the reason of it, that which in them is instinct,
 is natural reason^a; which is, a desire to preserve
 and his own kind, and differs from instinct, because
 understands his instinct, and the reasonableness
 and they do not. But man being a higher thing
 in the order of creation, and designed to a more
 end in his animal capacity, his argumentative
 is larger than the natural instinct of beasts, for
 instincts in him in order to the conservation of
 and therefore hath principles, that is, he hath
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 for beasts do the same things we do, and have the
 same inclinations, which in us are the laws of
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 But that which in beasts is nature and an in-
 force, in us must be duty and an inviting power.
 must do the same things with an actual or
 designation of that end to which God designs
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 and then, what is mere nature in them, in us is
 reason. And therefore marriage in men is made
 when the mixtures of other creatures are so
 natural, that they are not capable of being vici-
 because men are bound to intend that end which
 made. And this, with the superaddition of oth-

^a Naturale jus partim τὸ δίκαιον, πᾶσι ἀνθρώποις ὁμοίως λα-
 τὸν partim, τὸ πρὸς καλοκάγαθίαν κοινὸν ἔπασσι, καὶ μόνον ἱκανὸν
 τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον. Joseph. Orig. xvi. 10.

of which marriage is representative in part, and in part effective, does consecrate marriage, and makes it holy and mysterious. But then there are in marriage many duties which we are taught by instinct; that is, by that reason whereby we understand what are the best means to promote the end which we have assigned us. And by these laws all unnatural mixtures are made unlawful, and the decencies which are to be observed in marriage are prescribed us by this.

4. Secondly. Upon the supposition of this discourse, I consider, again, that although to observe this instinct, or these laws of nature (in which I now have instanced), be no great virtue in any eminency of degree; (as no man is much commended for not killing himself, or for not degenerating into beastly lusts;) yet, to prevaricate some of these laws may become almost the greatest sin in the world. And therefore, although to live according to nature be a testimony fit to be given to a sober and temperate man, and rises no higher; yet to do an action against nature is the greatest dishonour and impiety in the world (I mean of actions whose scene lies in the body), and disentitles us to all relations to God, and vicinity to virtue.

5. Thirdly. Now amongst actions which we are taught by nature, some concern the being and the necessities of nature, some appertain to her convenience and advantage: and the transgressions of these respectively have their heightenings or depressions: and therefore, to kill a man is worse than some preternatural pollutions, because more destructive of the end and

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6. Fourthly. Every part of this instinct is in some sense, a law, when it is in a direct or necessary end, and by that is made reasonable in some sense it is a law, that is, it is in a position to become a law. It is a rule without relation to a particular punishment, beyond the the natural inordination and obliquity of the not the measure of a moral good or evil, but natural, that is, of comely and uncomely: for individuals it should fail, or that there pass some obligation upon the person in order to a higher end not consistent with those means designed in the lesser end, in that particular it is no fault, but sometimes a virtue. And therefore, although it is not instinct, or reasonable towards many purposes, yet one should beget a man in his own image, in the preservation of nature; yet if there be the addition of another and higher end, and contrary to the persuasion in order to it, (such as is holy *cælibacy* in order to a spiritual life, in some persons) the instinct of nature is very far from passing upon the conscience, and in that instance it is to be reasonable. And therefore the Roman law invited men to marriage with privileges, and punished those of a coarse and ungentle natures that refused it, yet it was not so with chaste and unmarried vestals: the first, in order to the commonwealth; these, in a nearer order to religion.

7. Fifthly. These instincts or reasonable inclinations become laws, obliging us in conscience and in the law of religion, and the breach of them is directly sinful when the instance violates any end of justice,

r sobriety, either designed in nature's first intention, r superinduced by God or man. For every thing hat is unreasonable to some certain purpose is not pre- ently criminal, much less is it against the law of nature (unless every man that goes out of his way ins against the law of nature), and every contradicting of a natural desire or inclination is not a sin against the aw of nature. For the restraining sometimes of a law- ful and a permitted desire is an act of great virtue, and pursues a greater reason; as in the former instance. But those things only, against which such a reason as mixes with charity or justice, or something that is now in order to a farther end of a commanded instance of piety, may be without error brought, those things are only criminal. And God having first made our in- stincts reasonable, hath now made our reason and in- stincts to be spiritual; and having sometimes restrained our instincts, and always made them regular, he hath by the intermixture of other principles made a separa- tion of instinct from instinct; leaving one in the form of natural inclination, and they rise no higher than a permission or a decency, it is lawful, or it is comely so to do; (for no man can affirm it to be a duty to kill him that assaults my life, or to maintain my children for ever without their own industry, when they are able, what degrees of natural fondness soever I have towards them; nor that I sin, if I do not marry, when I can contain;) and yet every one of these may proceed from the affections and first inclinations of nature; but until they mingle with justice, or charity, or some instance

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that are so mingled being raised to duty and religion. Nature inclines us, and reason judges it apt and suitable in order to certain ends; but then every part of it is made to be an act of religion from some principle: as yet, it is but fit and reasonable, religion and particular duty, till God or man hath imposed. But whatsoever particular in nature was made a law of religion, is made such by the addition of another principle; and this is derived by tradition from Adam to Noah, or else transmitted us by the consent of all the world, upon a natural prompt reason, or else by some other instrument derived to us from God, but especially by the Christian religion which hath adopted all those things which we call "things honest, things comely, and things of good report," into a law and a duty; as appears, Phil. iv.

8. Upon these propositions, I shall infer, by way of instance, that it is a duty that women should nurse their own children. For, first, it is taught to women by instinct which nature hath implanted in them. As Phavorinus the philosopher discoursed^a, it is but half a mother, to bring forth children and not to nurse them; and it is some kind of abortion, to destroy the infant, which, in the reputation of a mother, is infamous and uncharitable. And a mother be an appellative of affection, why should the mother be willing to destroy her child, as a stranger? The earth is the mother of us, because we were made of her reeds; she daily gives us food from her fruits; and plants and beasts give nourishment.

^a Apud A. Gellium, l. 12.

after their production, with greater tenderness than they bear them in their wombs: and yet women give nourishment to the embryo, which whether it be deformed or perfect they know not, and cannot love what they never saw; and yet when they do see it, — when they have rejoiced that a child is born, and forgotten the sorrows of production, they, who then can first begin to love it, if they begin to divorce the infant from the mother, the object from the affection, cut off the opportunities and occasions of their charity or piety.

9. For why hath nature given to women two exuberant fontinels, which, “like two roes that are twins, feed among the lilies”, and drop milk like dew from Hermon, and hath invited that nourishment from the secret recesses where the infant dwelt at first^b, up to the breast where naturally now the child is cradled in the entertainments of love and maternal embraces; but that nature, having removed the babe, and carried its meat after it, intends that it should be preserved by the matter and ingredients of its constitution, and have the same diet prepared with a more mature and proportionable digestion?^a If nature intended them not for nourishment, I am sure it less intended them for wantonness: they are needless excrements of nature, unless employed in nature’s intendment. And if it be a r

^a Cant. iv. 5.

^b “Illicet exundans claustris, ex
Humor
Si prohibes, furit in mammis,
Miscet, et ingrata pennis à m

what blood children are derived, we may also consider that the derivation continues after the birth; and therefore, abating the sensuality, the nurse is as much the mother as she that brought it forth; and so much the more, as there is a longer communication of constituent nourishment (for so are the first emanations) in this than in the other. So that here is first the instinct or prime intendment of nature.

10. Secondly, and that this instinct may also become humane and reasonable, we see it by experience in many places that foster-children are dearer to the nurse than to the mother, as receiving and ministering respectively perpetual prettinesses of love, and fondness, and trouble, and need, and invitations, and all the instruments of endearment; besides a vicinity of dispositions and relative tempers by the communication of blood and spirits from the nurse to the suckling, which makes use the more natural, and nature more accustomed. And therefore the affections which these exposed or derelict children bear to their mothers have no grounds of nature or assiduity, but civility and opinion; and that little of love which is abated from the foster-parents upon public report that they are not natural, that little is transferred to mothers upon the same opinion, and no more.* Hence come those unnatural aversions, those unrelenting dispositions, those carelessnesses and incurious deportments towards their children which are such ill-sown seeds, from whence may arise

* "Obliteratis et abolitis nativæ pietatis elementis, quicquid ita educati liberi amare patrem atque matrem videntur, magnam partem non naturalis ille amor est, sed civilis et opinabilis." *Phavor. apud A. Gellium.*

up a bitterness of disposition and mutual provocation. The affection which children bear to their nurses was highly remarked in the instance of Scipio Asiaticus, who rejected the importunity of his brother Africanus in behalf of the ten captains who were condemned for offering violence to the vestals, but pardoned them at the request of his foster-sister; and being asked why he did more for his nurse's daughter than for his own mother's son, gave this answer: "I esteem her rather to be my mother that brought me up, than her that bare me and forsook me." And I have read the observation, that many tyrants have killed their mothers, but never any did violence to his nurse; as if they were desirous to suck the blood of their mother raw, which she refused to give to them digested into milk. And the bastard-brother of the Gracchi, returning from his victories in Asia to Rome, presented his mother with a jewel of silver, and his nurse with a girdle of gold, upon the same account. Sometimes children are exchanged, and artificial bastardies introduced into family, and the right heir supplanted. It happened to Artabanus, king of Epirus: he was changed at nurse, and the son of a mean woman succeeded to the kingdom. The event of which he discovered too late discovered the treason; and he was slain, and the kingdom itself was usurped by Alexander, the son of Olympias, the wife of Philip the Great, the best, though there were no other accidents, yet

mother's care could suffer it to be exposed, a stranger's care may suffer it to be neglected. For how shall hireling endure the inconveniences, the tediousnesses and unhandsomenesses of a nursery, when she, whose natural affection might have made it pleasant, out of wantonness or softness hath declined the burden? But the sad accidents which by too frequent observation are daily seen happening to nurse-children, give great probation that this intendment of nature designing mothers to be the nurses, that their affection might secure and increase their care, and the care best provide for their babes, is most reasonable and proportionable to the discourses of humanity.

11. But as this instinct was made reasonable, so is this also the reason is in order to grace and spiritual effects, and therefore is among those things which God hath separated from the common instincts of nature and made properly to be laws by the mixtures of justice and charity. For it is part of that education which mothers as a duty owe to their children, that they do in all circumstances, and with all their power which God to that purpose gave them*, promote their capacities and improve their faculties. Now in this also, as the temper of the body is considerable in order to the inclinations of the soul, so is the nurse in order to the temper of the body: and a lamb sucking a goat or a kid sucking an ewe, change their fleece and ha-

* "Nam Gracchorum eloquentiæ multum contulisse accepimus Corneliæ matrem." *Quint.* l. 1. c. 1. "Protinus ut erit parens faciam acrem quam maximè curam impendat, ante omnia nè sit vitiosus servus nutricibus, quas, si fieri posset, sapientes Chrysippus optavit." *Quint.* l. 1. c. 1. Γάλα ἀλλότριον βλαβερόν, γάλα ἰδίου ὠφέλιμον, *Hippoc.* de Alimento. Καθάπερ αἱ τίτθαι γο, σιτίζεις κακῶς. *Aristoph.*

respectively, say naturalists. For if the soul of man were put into the body of a mole, it could not see nor peak, because it is not fitted with an instrument apt and organical to the faculty; and when the soul hath its proper instruments, its music is pleasant or harsh according to the sweetness or the unevenness of the string it touches; for David himself could not have harmed Saul's melancholic spirit with the strings of his bow or the wood of his spear. And just so are the actions or dispositions of the soul angry or pleasant, lustful or cold, querulous or passionate, according as the body is disposed by the various intermixtures of natural qualities. And as the carelessness of nurses hath sometimes returned children to their parents crooked, consumptive, half starved, and unclean from the impurities of nature, so their society and their nourishment together have disposed them to peevishness, to lust, to drunkenness, to pride, to low and base demeanours, to stubbornness. And as a man would have been unwilling to have had a child by Harpaste, Seneca's wife's fool, so he would in all reason be as unwilling to have had her to be the nurse; for very often mothers by the birth do not transmit their imperfections, yet it seldom happens but the nurse does. Which is the more considerable, because nurses are commonly persons of no great rank, certainly lower than the mother, and, by consequence, liker to return their children with the lower and more servile conditions; and commonly those vainer people teach them to be peevish and proud, to lie, or, at least, seldom give them

or if the nurse, it could not, with an instance, and when the nurse is pleasant, the uneasiness himself could irritate with the nurse. And just the soul angry, or passionate, or various intermissions of carelessness of nurses to their parents, and unclean from society and their use, them to perceive, to low and low. And as a man would a child by Harpocrates in all reason, but the nurse; for not transmit their nature, but the nurse does, because nurses are certainly lower in grace, liker to receive more servile conduct, people teach them, seldom give, and so on.

therefore it concerns the parent's care, in order to virtuous life of the child, to secure its first seasonings, because whatever it sucks in first it swallows, and believes infinitely, and practises easily, and continues longest. And this is more proper for a mother's care, while the nurse thinks that giving the child suck and keeping its body clean is all her duty.* But the mother cannot think herself so easily discharged. And this consideration is material in all cases, be the choice the nurse never so prudent and curious; and it is not easily apprehended to be the portion of her care to give it spiritual milk; and therefore it intrenches very much upon impiety and positive relinquishing the education of their children, when mothers expose the spirit of the child either to its own weaker inclination, or the wicked principles of an ungodly nurse, or the carelessness of any less obliged person.

12. And then, let me add, that a child sucks the nurse's milk, and digests her conditions, if they are never so bad, seldom gets any good.^b For virtue, being superaddition to nature, and perfections not radical in the body, but contradictions to, and meliorations of natural indispositions, does not easily convey itself in ministrations of food, as vice does, which, in most instances, is nothing but mere nature grown to custom, and not mended by grace; so that it is probable enough such natural distemperatures may pass in the rivulets of milk, like evil spirits in a white garment, when virtues are of harder purchase, and dwell so low in the

* "Ἄλλοτε μητρική πέλει ἡμέρη, ἄλλοτε μήτηρ. Fictum proverb.

^b "Hyrcanæque admorunt ubera tigres." Vir. *Asinus masodon dōhla*

heart, that they but rarely pass through the fountains of generation. And therefore, let no mother venture her child upon a stranger, whose heart she less knows than her own. And because few of those nicer women think better of others than themselves, (since, out of self-love, they neglect their own bowels,) it is but an act of improvidence to let my child derive imperfections from one of whom I have not so good an opinion as of myself.

13. And if those many blessings and holy prayers which the child needs, or his askings or sicknesses, or the mother's fears or joys, respectively do occasion, should not be cast into this account; yet those principles which, in all cases wherein the neglect is vicious, are the causes of the exposing the child, are extremely against the piety and charity of Christian religion, which prescribes severity and austere deportment, and "the labours of love," and exemplar tenderness of affections, and piety to children, which are the most natural and nearest relations the parents have. That religion which commands us to visit and to tend sick strangers, and wash the feet of the poor, and dress their ulcers, and sends us upon charitable embassies into unclean prisons, and bids us lay down our lives for one another, is not pleased with a niceness and sensual curiosity (that I may not name the wantonnesses of lusts), which denies suck to our own children. What is more humane and affectionate than Christianity? and what is less natural and charitable than to deny the expresses of a mother's affection, which certainly to

the greatest violence to their desires, if they should not express and minister?

14. And it would be considered, whether those mothers who have neglected their first duties of piety and charity can expect so prompt and easy returns of duty and piety from their children, whose best foundation is love, and that love strongest which is most natural, and that most natural which is conveyed by the first ministries and impresses of nourishment and education. And if love descends more strongly than it ascends, and commonly falls from the parents upon the children in cataracts, and returns back again up to the parents but in gentle dews; if the child's affection keeps the same proportions towards such unkind mothers, it will be as little as atoms in the sun, and never express itself but when the mother needs it not, that is, in the sunshine of a clear fortune.

15. This, then, is amongst those instincts which are natural, heightened first by reason, and then exalted by grace into the obligation of a law; and being amongst the sanctions of nature, its prevarication is a crime very near those sins which divines, in detestation of their malignity, call sins against nature, and is never to be excused but in cases of necessity or greater charity^a; as when the mother cannot be a nurse by reason of natural disability, or is afflicted with a disease which might be transmitted in the milk, or in case of the public necessities of a kingdom, for the securing of succession in the royal family. And yet concerning

^a "Necessitas, magnum imbecillitatis humane patrociniū, quicquid cogit excusat." *Senec.*

his last, Lycurgus made a law, that the noblest amongst the Spartan women, though their kings' wives, should, at least, nurse their eldest son, and the plebeians should nurse all theirs: and Plutarch reports, that the second son of king Themistes inherited the kingdom in Sparta, only because he was nursed with his mother's milk; and the eldest was therefore rejected, because a stranger was his nurse. And that queens have suckled and nursed their own children is no very unusual kindness in the simplicity and hearty affections of elder ages, as is to be seen in Herodotus and other historians. I shall only remark one instance out of the Spanish Chronicles, which Henry Stephens, in his apology for Herodotus, reports to have heard from a friend related by a noble personage, Monsieur Marillac; that a Spanish lady, married into France, nursed her child with so great a tenderness and jealousy, that having understood the little prince once to have sucked a stranger, she was unquiet till she had forced him to omit it up again. In other cases, the crime lies at their door who enforce neglect upon the other, and is heightened in proportion to the motive of the omission; if wantonness or pride be the parent of the crime, the issue, besides its natural deformity, hath the excrescences of pride or lust to make it more ugly.

16. To such mothers I propound the example of the holy Virgin, who had the honour to be visited by an angel; yet, after the example of the saints in the Old Testament, she gave to the holy Jesus drink from those bottles which himself had filled for his own drink-

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 for she that appeared before Solomon, and v
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COMMINATION.

COMMINATION.

PERSUASIVES TO THE BEING RELIGIOUS, FROM
THE TERROR OF THE LORD.

[BISHOP STILLINGFLEET.]

2 CORINTH. v. 11.

*Knowing therefore the terror of the Lord, we persuade
men.*

IF ever any religion was in all respects accomplished for so noble a design as the reformation of mankind was the Christian, whether we consider the authority of those who first delivered it, or the weight of arguments contained in it, and their agreeableness to the most prevailing passions of human nature. Although the world was strangely degenerated before the coming of Christ, yet not to so great a degree but that there were some who not only saw the necessity of a cure but offered their assistance in order to it; whose attempts proved the more vain and fruitless, because they laboured under the same distempers themselves which they offered to cure in others; or the medicine they prescribed was mean and trivial, doubtful and uncertain, or else too nice and subtle to do any good upon the world. But Christianity had not

a mighty advantage by the great holiness of those who preached it, but by the clearness and evidence, the strength and efficacy of those arguments which they used to persuade men. The nature of them is such, that none who understand them can deny them to be great; their clearness such, that none that hear them can choose but understand them; the manner of recommending them such, as all who understood themselves could not but desire to hear them. No arguments can be more proper to mankind than those which work upon their reason and consideration; no motives can stir up more to the exercise of this than their own happiness and misery; no happiness and misery can deserve to be so much considered as that which is eternal. And this eternal state is that which above all other things the Christian religion delivers with the greatest plainness, confirms with the strongest evidence, and enforces upon the consciences of men with the most powerful and persuasive rhetoric. I need not go beyond my text for the proof of this, wherein we see that the Apostles' design was "to persuade men," i. e. to convince their judgments, to gain their affections, to reform their lives; that the argument they used for this end was no less than "the terror of the Lord;" not the frowns of the world, nor the fear of men, nor the malice of devils; but the terror of the Almighty, whose majesty makes even the devils tremble, whose power is irresistible, and whose wrath is unsupportable. But it is not "the terror of the Lord" in this world which he

terror of the Lord" which shall appear at the dreadful day of judgment, of which he speaks in the verse before the text. "For we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad."^a This is "the terror" here meant, which relates to our final and eternal state in another world, "when we must appear before the judgment-seat of Christ," &c. And of this he speaks, not out of poetical fables, ancient traditions, uncertain conjectures, or probable arguments, but from full assurance of the truth of what he delivers: "Knowing therefore the terror of the Lord, we persuade men." In which words we shall consider these particulars: —

I. The argument which the Apostle makes choice of to persuade men, which is, "the terror of the Lord."

II. The great assurance he expresseth of the truth of it: "Knowing therefore the terror of the Lord."

III. The efficacy of it in order to the convincing and reforming mankind: "Knowing therefore, &c., we persuade men."

I. The argument the Apostle makes choice of to persuade men by, viz. "the terror of the Lord." In the Gospel we find a mixture of the highest clemency and the greatest severity, the richest mercy and the strictest justice, the most glorious rewards and intolerable punishments; accordingly we find God therein described as a tender father, and as a terrible judge, as a

^a Ver. 10.

God of peace, and as a God of vengeance, as an everlasting happiness and a consuming fire; and the Son of God as coming once with great humility, and again with majesty and great glory; once, with all the infirmities of human nature, and again with all the demonstrations of a divine power and presence; once, as the Son of God to take away the sins of the world by his death and passion, and again as judge of the world with flaming fire to execute vengeance on all impenitent sinners. The intermixing of these in the doctrine of the Gospel was necessary in order to the benefit of mankind by it, that such whom the condescension of his first appearance could not oblige to leave off their sins, the terror of his second may astonish when they foresee the account that will be taken of their ingratitude and disobedience; that such who are apt to despise the meanness of his birth, the poverty of his life, and the shame of his death, may be filled with horror and amazement when they consider the majesty of his second coming in the clouds, "to execute judgment upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly, not only of their ungodly deeds, but of all their hard speeches, which ungodly sinners have spoken against him." And we shall easily see what great reason there is that this second coming of Christ to judgment should be called "the terror of the Lord," if we consider —

1. The terror of the preparation for it.
2. The terror of the appearance in it.

4. The terror of the sentence which shall be passed.

1. The terror of the preparation for it, which is particularly described by St. Peter in these words: "The day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night, in which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat; also and the works that are therein shall be burned up." This day will come "as a thief in the night," in great surprise, when it is not looked for; and that will be so much the more dreadful. A lesser calamity than this suddenly doth astonish more than a far greater which hath been long expected; for surprisals confound our thoughts, daunt their spirits, and betray all that we which reason offers. But when the surprise is one of the least astonishing circumstances of our life, men fall into, what unconceivable horror will be in their minds at the apprehension of it? What amazement may we imagine the soul of our Saviour, in whom our Saviour speaks of in his parable, being pleased with the fulness of his condemnation to his soul, "Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years; take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry." But God said to him, Thou fool, this night shall be required of thee; then whose shall they be that thou hast provided?"^b Had God said, This night shall thy barns be burnt, and thy goods consumed to ashes, which thou hast laid up for many years; that would have caused a strange con-

^a 2 Pet. iii. 10.

^b Luke, xii. 19.

him for the present; but he might have comforted himself with the hopes of living and getting more. But, "this night shall thy soul be required of thee!" O dreadful words! O the tremblings of body, the anguish of mind, the pangs and convulsions of conscience, which such a one is tormented with at the hearing of them! What sad reflections doth he presently make upon his own folly! And must all the mirth and ease I promised myself for so many years be at an end now in a very few hours? Nay, must my mirth be so suddenly turned into bitter howlings, and my ease into a bed of pines? Must my soul be thus torn away from the things it loved, and go where it will hate to live and can never dye? O miserable creature! to be thus deceived by my own folly, to be surprised after so many warnings, to betray myself into everlasting misery! Fear, horror, and despair have already taken hold on me, and are carrying me where they will never leave me.

These are the agonies but of one single person whom death snatches away in the midst of his years, his pleasures, and his hopes: but such as these the greatest part of the world will fall into when that terrible day of the Lord shall come.* "For as it was in the days of Noe; so shall it be also in the day of the Son of man: they did eat, they drank, they married wives, they were given in marriage, until the day that Noe entered into the ark; and the flood came and destroyed them all. Likewise also as it was in the days of Lot: they did eat, they drank, they bought, they sold, they

out of Sodom, it rained fire and brimstone from
and destroyed them all. Even thus shall it be
day when the Son of man is revealed." "A
snare shall it come on all them that dwell on
of the whole earth."* If some of these ex-
seem to relate to the unexpected coming of
judgment upon Jerusalem, we are to consider
was not only a forerunner but a figure of
coming to judge the world. And that may be
great reason why our Saviour mixeth his discourses
both these so much together as he doth: for
the judgment upon that nation was a draught
were, in little, of the great day, but the sym-
forerunners of the one were to bear a proportion
the other: among which the strange security of
people before their destruction was none of
And the surprise shall be so much the more as
when the day of the Lord shall come upon the
world, as the terror and consequences of that
judgment shall exceed the overthrow of the
polity.

But supposing men were aware of its approach
prepared for it; the burning of the temple at
Jerusalem, though so frightful a spectacle to
beholders of it, was but a mean representation of
terror that shall be at the conflagration of the
world. When "the heavens shall pass away with
great noise," (or with a mighty force, as some
it,) "and the elements shall melt with fervent heat,
when all the fiery bodies in the upper regions

* Luke, xxi. 35.

world, which have been kept so long in an even and regular course within their several limits, shall then be let loose again, and by a more rapid and violent motion shall put the world into confusion and a flame together. For then the present frame of things shall be dissolved, and the bounds set to the more subtile and active parts of matter shall be taken away, which mixing with the more gross and earthy shall sever them from each other, and by their whirling and agitation set them all on fire. And if “the stars falling to the earth”^a were to be understood in a literal sense, none seems so probable as this, that those ethereal fires shall then be scattered and dispersed throughout the universe, so that the earth and all the works that are therein shall be turned into one funeral pile. Then the foundations of the earth shall be shaken, and all the combustible matter which lies hid in the bowels of it shall break forth into prodigious flames; which, while it rolls up and down within, making itself a passage out, will cause an universal quaking in all parts of the earth, and make the sea to roar with a mighty noise, which will either by the violent heat spend itself in vapour and smoke, or be swallowed up in the hollow places of the deep. Neither are we to imagine that only the sulphurous matter within the earth shall by its kindling produce so general a conflagration (although some philosophers of old thought that sufficient for so great an effect), but as it was in the deluge of water, “the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the windows of heaven

even kept so long in their several limits, by a more rapid and violent confusion and a flame of things shall be the more subtle and taken away, which mixing shall sever them from each other, and agitation set them to the earth's surface, none seems so proper, fires shall then be kindled in the universe, so that all that are therein shall be consumed, when the foundations of all the combustible parts of it shall break, while it rolls up in a passage out, will create a noise, which will fill the earth, and itself in vapour and smoke, follow places of the earth, that only the subject by its kindling produces some philosophical effect, so great an effect, "the fountains of the windows of heaven," this "deluge of fire," Gen. vii. 11.

as one of the ancients calls it, not only mighty streams and rivers of fire shall issue out of the bowels of the earth; but the cataracts above shall discharge an abundance of thunder and lightning, wherein God will rain down fire and brimstone from heaven, that no man shall be able to withstand the force of it. There shall be craters or breaches made in the earth by horrible earthquakes, caused by the violent eruptions of fire, shall be wide enough to swallow up not only cities but vast countries too: and what shall remain of the spoils of this devouring enemy within, shall be consumed by the merciless fury of the thunder and lightning. What will then become of all the glories of the world, which are now so much admired and courted by men? What will then become of the most magnificent piles, the most curious structures, the most sumptuous palaces, the most lasting monuments, the most beautiful gardens, and the most delightful countries? They shall be all buried in one common heap of ruins, and the whole face of the earth shall be like the top of Etna, nothing but rubbish, and stones, and ashes, as unskilful travellers have at a distance mistaken for snow. What will then become of the pomp and gallantry of the vain persons, the large possessions of the great, or the vast treasures of the rich? They shall have had of these things, only the more they have made for this destroying fire, which will respect to the honours, the greatness, or the riches of men. Nay, what will then become of the wicked and ungodly, who have scoffed at all these things, and "walked after their own lusts, saying, Where

mise of his coming? because all things yet continue as they were from the beginning of the creation."* When this great day of his wrath is come, how shall they be able to stand or escape his fury? Will they fly to the tops of the mountains, that were only to stand more ready to be destroyed from heaven? Will they hide themselves in the dens and the rocks of the mountains? But there they fall into the burning furnaces of the earth; and "the mountains may fall upon them," but can never "hide them from the wrath of the Lamb." Will they go down into the deep, and convey themselves to the uttermost parts of the sea? But even there the storms and tempests of these showers of fire shall overtake them; and the vengeance of God shall pursue them to everlasting flames.

Consider, now, whether so dreadful a preparation for Christ's coming to judgment be not one great reason why it should be called "the terror of the Lord." For can any thing be imagined more full of horror and amazement than to see the whole world in a flame about us? We may remember (and I hope we yet do so) when the flames of one city filled the minds of all the beholders with astonishment and fear: but what then would it do, not only to see the earth vomit and cast forth fire every where about us, and the sea to boil and swell and froth like water in a seething-pot, but to hear nothing but perpetual claps of thunder, and to see no light in the heavens, but what the flashings of lightning give? Could we imagine ourselves at a con-

mountain, such as Etna and Vesuvius are, when the earth about it trembles and groans, the sea foams and rages, and the bowels of the mountain roar through impatience of casting forth its burden, and at last gives itself ease by sending up a mixture of flames, and ashes, and smoke, and a flood of fire, spreading far, and destroying wherever it runs; yet even this, though it be very apt to put men in apprehensions and fears of this great day, falls very far short of the terror of it. Could we yet farther suppose that at the same time we could see fire and brimstone raining from heaven on Sodom and Gomorrah, the earth opening to devour Corah and his company, Belshazzar trembling at the handwriting against the wall, and the Jews destroying themselves in the fire of their temple and city; this may somewhat higher advance our imaginations of the horror of the world's conflagration; but yet we cannot reach the greatness of it, inasmuch as "the heavens and the earth which are now, are kept in store," saith the Apostle, "reserved unto fire against the day of judgment and perdition of ungodly men^a;" even those heavens whose beauty, and order, and motion, and influence we now admire; and that earth whose fruitful womb and richly adorned surface afford all the conveniences of the life of man, must either be destroyed, or at least purged and refined, by this last and dreadful fire. The expressions of which in Scripture being so frequent, so particular, so plain, in writers not affecting the lofty prophetic style, wherein fire is often used only to express the wrath of God, make it evident that

^a 2 Pet. iii. 7.

their meaning is not barely that the world shall be destroyed by the anger of God, but that this destruction shall be by real fire; which adds more to the sensible terror of it, to all that shall behold it.

2. The terror of Christ's appearance in that day. The design of the Scripture, in setting forth the coming of Christ to judgment, is to represent it in such a manner to us as is most apt to strike us with awe and terror at the apprehension of it. Now, the greatest appearance of majesty among men is, either when a mighty prince marches triumphantly in the midst of a royal army, with all the splendour of a court and the discipline of a camp, having his greatest attendants about him, and sending his officers before him, who with the sound of trumpets give notice of his approach, and is every where received with the shouts and acclamations of the people; or else of a prince, sitting upon his throne of majesty, set forth with all the ornaments of state and greatness, with all his nobles and courtiers standing about his throne, and in his own person calling malefactors to account; and both these ways the appearance of Christ upon his second coming is represented to us. First, as "coming in the clouds of heaven^a," *i. e.* riding triumphantly (as it were upon a chariot) on a body of light brighter than the sun, having "all the heavenly host attending upon him^b;" and therefore he is said to come "with power and great glory; and sending his angels with a great sound of a trumpet before him^c;" after whom, "the Lord himself shall descend from heaven

^a Matt. xiv. 27.
v. 30, 31.

^b 2 Thess. i. 7.

with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God." ^a Not as though we were to imagine any material trumpet, as some have grossly done, whose sound could reach over the whole earth; but the sound of the last trumpet seems to be the same with the "voice of the Son of God, which the dead are said to hear, and live ^b;" i. e. it shall be an effectual power for raising the dead; which may be therefore called "the sound of a trumpet," because it supplies the use of one in calling all people together, and doth more lively represent to our capacities the majesty of Christ's appearance with all the heavenly host of angels and saints. Thus, when God appeared upon Mount Sinai with his holy angels about him, we there read of "the noise of the trumpet ^c:" and when God showed his glorious presence in the Temple, he is said "to come up with a shout, and the Lord with the sound of trumpet ^d:" and when he sets himself against his enemy God himself is said "to blow the trumpet, and to go forth with the whirlwinds of the south." ^e But, besides this we find Christ, upon his second coming, describe "sitting on the throne of his glory, and all the angels about him, and all nations gathered to him ^f," to receive their sentence from him. His countenance is said to be "great and white ^g," i. e. most magnificent and glorious; and to make it the more dreadful, "clouds and fire" are said to "proceed lightnings, and thunders and voices ^h;" and so terrible is the majesty of his

^a 1 Thess. iv. 16.^b John, v. 25.^c Psalm lxxviii. 33. Exod. xx. 18.^d Psalm xlvii. 5.^e Zach. ix. 14. ^f Matt. xxv. 31.^g Rev. xx. 11.^h (

sits upon the throne, that "the heaven and earth" are said to "flee away from his face;" but "the dead, small and great, are to stand before him, and to be judged according to their works."^a And if the appearance of a common judge be so dreadful to a guilty prisoner; if the majesty of an earthly prince begets an awe and reverence where there is no fear of punishment; what may we then imagine, when justice and majesty both meet in the person of the judge, and fear and guilt in the conscience of offenders? Therefore it is said, "Behold, he cometh with clouds, and every eye shall see him, and they also which pierced him; and all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of him."^b We find the best of men in Scripture seized on with a very unusual consternation at any extraordinary divine appearance. The sight upon Mount Sinai was so terrible, even to Moses, that he did "exceedingly fear and quake^c:" the vision which Isaiah had of the glory of God made him cry out, "Woe is me, for I am undone; for mine eyes have seen the King, the Lord of Hosts."^d When Daniel saw his vision, all his strength and vigour was gone; and though an angel raised him from the ground, yet he saith of himself, that "he stood trembling."^e If these, whom God appeared to in a way of kindness, were so possessed with fear, what horror must needs seize upon the minds of the wicked when "the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven in flaming fire, on purpose to take vengeance upon them?"^f If, in the days of his flesh, there appeared so much majesty in

^a Rev. xx. 11.^b Rev. i. 7.^c Heb. xii. 21.

his countenance, that when the officers came to apprehend him “they went backward, and fell to the ground^a,” how unconceivably greater must it be when his design shall be to manifest that glory to the world which he then concealed from it? If, in the short time of his transfiguration on the holy mount, his own disciples were so far from being able to behold the glory of his presence, that “they fell on their faces, and were sore afraid^b,” how shall his enemies abide the day of his wrath, or how can they stand when he shall appear in the full glory of his majesty and power?

3. The terror of the proceedings upon that day: for then “we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ,” not for any ostentation of his greatness and power before the whole world, but that “every one may receive according to the things done in his body, whether it be good or bad.” How full of terror will the proceedings of that day be, wherein all secrets shall be disclosed, all actions examined, and all persons judged? That will be “the day of the revelation of the righteous judgment of God.”^c This is the time of darkness, and therefore of disputes and quarrels; but then the wisdom and justice of Divine Providence shall be made manifest to all, “for every one shall receive according to his work:” and none will wonder at the sentence, when they have seen the evidence. Then the most secret impurities, the most subtile hypocrisy, the most artificial fraud, and the most dissembled malice shall be laid open to public view. For then “God

^a John, xviii. 6.

^b Matt. xvii. 2. 6. Mark, ix. 6.

^c Rom. ii. 5.

will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts."* Then all the intrigues of lust and ambition, so much the talk and business of this world, will be nothing but men's shame and reproach in the next. With what horror will they then behold all the sins of their lives set in order before them, when they seemed in this life, next to the committing them, to design as much as may be to forget them? Happy men! if their consciences were like their table books, that they could blot out and put in what they pleased themselves; then all the black catalogue of their sins would be presently expunged, and they would have nothing to be seen there, but the characters of what, at least, seemed to be good. For though men be never so vicious, they neither care that others should think so of them, nor they of themselves: of all things they do not love to dispute where they cannot answer; and that is their case in all their retorts of conscience upon them. They know there is no drolling with so sour a piece as that within them is, for that makes the smartest and most cutting repartees; which are uneasy to bear, but impossible to answer. Therefore they study their own quiet, by seeking to keep that silent; and since they never hope to make conscience dumb, they would have it sleep as much as may be: and although the starts it sometimes makes show that the most sleepy sinners have some troublesome dreams; yet, if it doth not thoroughly awake in this world, it will do it with a vengeance in another.

... ..

cure the biting of this tarantula within ; no opium stupidity or atheism will be able to give one minute rest. How will men then curse themselves for their own folly in being so easily tempted, and all those wretched laid traps and snares to betray them by? What different apprehensions of sin will they have then for what they have now, while they are beset with temptations to it? "Oh!" will a forsaken sinner then say, "had I ever believed, as I ought to have done, that this would have been the fruit of a sinful life, I should have taken more care to prevent this misery than I have done! But, oh, the folly of intemperance, the miscellany of ambition, the rage of lust, the unsatiableness of covetousness, the madness of debauchery, and the blindness of atheism! what have ye now brought me to, ye all your pleasures, and promises, and flatteries, who have lost my soul in your service? Oh that I had time to grow wise, again; and once more to try whether I could withstand the cheats and witchcraft of a deceitful world! Now all my sins are as fresh before me as committed yesterday, and their burden is heavier than the weight of mountains, however light I made of it then. I need no judge to condemn me but my conscience. Oh that I could as easily see an end to my misery, as I do that I have deserved that there should be none!" Thus shall the book of conscience be opened at that day in the heart of every impenitent sinner wherein, like Ezekiel's roll, he finds written, without, "lamentation, and mourning, and wailing." Yet this will not be the only terror in the process

of that day, that all the sins that ever wicked men committed will be set in order before them with their several circumstances and aggravations, although the remembrance of them cannot be without extreme horror and amazement; but that they must undergo a strict and severe examination of all their actions by a most powerful, holy, and just Judge. And if it be so troublesome a thing to them, in this world, to go down into themselves, or to call to remembrance their own wicked actions, which they have loved and delighted in; what will it be when they must all be brought forth before the judgment-seat of Christ, who hates and abhors them? If men can so hardly endure to have the deformity of their vices represented to them, though very imperfectly, here; how will they bear the dissecting and laying them open in the view of the whole world; — when the smallest fibres and the most subtile threads in our hearts shall be curiously examined, and the influence they have had upon our actions fully discovered; — when sins that have been despised for their littleness, or unregarded for their frequency, or laughed at as no sins at all, shall appear to have had a greater venom in them than men would imagine? What shall they think, then, of their great and presumptuous sins, whereby they have not only offered violence to God and his laws, but to the dictates of their own consciences in committing them? Never think that length of time will abate the severity of the inquiry, or lessen the displeasure of God against thee for them. Remember the case of Amalek, how God dealt with that

before; and think, then, whether God be not in ear when he tells us how much he hates sin, and how severe he will be in the punishment of it. "I remember," saith God^a, "what Amalek did to Israel; how he laid wait for him in the way, when he came up from Egypt. Now go, and smite Amalek, and utterly destroy all that they have, and spare them not; slay both man and woman, infant and suckling," &c. What! a whole nation to be destroyed for one sin, and for a sin they thought to be none at all who committed it, and for a sin at so great a distance of time from the commission of it? But I forbear. I know not whether there be such another instance of God's severity in Scripture; but it is such as may justly make us come out with the Psalmist^b, "If thou, Lord, shouldest thou mark iniquities, O Lord, who shall stand?" But, though God in this world so seldom shows his severity and tempers it with so much kindness, we have no reason to expect he should do so in another. For he hath declared, that "mercy rejoiceth against judgment:"^c this being the time of God's "patience and forbearance and goodness towards sinners, being not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance."^d But if men will despise the riches of his goodness, if they will still abuse his patience, they will trample under foot the means of their own salvation; then they shall, to their unspeakable sorrow find that there is a day of wrath to come, wherein their own dreadful experience will tell them that "it is

^a 1 Sam. xv. 2, 3.^c James, ii. 13.^b Psalm, cxxx. 3.^d Rom. ii. 4. 2 Pet. iii. 9.

fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God." ^a For that will be a day of justice without mercy, a day of vengeance without pity, a day of execution without any further patience. Then no vain excuses will be taken, whereby men seek to palliate their sins and give ease to their minds now. It will be to no purpose to charge thy wilful sins upon the infirmity of thy nature, the power of temptation, the subtlety of the devil, the allurements of company, the common practice of the world, the corruption of the age, the badness of education, the folly of youth:—all these, and such like excuses, will be too weak to be made then, when it shall appear, to thy eternal confusion, that thy own vicious inclination swayed thee beyond them all. Then there will be as little place for entreaties as for vain excuses. God shows his great pity and indulgence to mankind now, that he is so ready to hear the prayers and grant the desires of all penitent sinners; but for those who stop their ears to all his instructions, and will not hearken to the reproofs of his word or the rebukes of their own consciences, but contemn all sober counsels and scoff at religion, what can they expect from him but that "when they shall call upon him he will not answer: and when they seek him earnestly, they shall not find him; but he will laugh at their calamity, and mock when their fear cometh." ^b O blessed Jesus! dost thou weep over an incorrigible people in the days of thy flesh; and wilt thou laugh at their miseries when thou comest to judge the world?

wilt thou mock at their destruction? Didst thou woo, and intreat, and beseech sinners to be reconciled; and wilt thou not hear them when, in the anguish of their souls, they cry unto thee? See, then, the mighty difference between Christ's coming as a Saviour and as a Judge, between the day of our salvation and the day of his wrath, between the joy in heaven at the conversion of penitent sinners, and at the confusion of the impenitent and unreclaimable. How terrible is the representation of God's wrath, in the style of the Prophets, when he punisheth a people in this world for their sins! It is called, "the day of the Lord, cruel with wrath and fierce anger: the day of the Lord's vengeance^a;" "the great and dreadful day of the Lord."^b If it were thus when his wrath was kindled but a little, when mercy was mixed with his severity, what will it be when he shall stir up all his wrath, and the heavens and the earth shall shake, that never did offend him, what shall they then do that shall to their sorrow know how much they have displeased him? Then neither power, nor wit, nor eloquence, nor craft shall stand men in any stead; for the great Judge of that day can neither be over-awed by power, nor over-reached by wit, nor moved by eloquence, nor betrayed by craft; but every man shall receive according to his deeds. The mighty disturbers of mankind, who have been called conquerors, shall not then be attended with their great armies, but must stand alone to receive their sentence: the greatest wits of the world will then find that a sincere honest heart will avail them more

^a Isa. xiii. 9. ; xxxiv. 9.^b Mal. iv. 5. Joel, ii. 31.

than the deepest reach or the greatest subtlety: the most eloquent persons, without true goodness, will be like the man in the parable without the wedding garment, speechless^a: the most crafty and politic will then see, that though they may deceive men, and themselves too, yet "God will not be mocked, for whatsoever a man sows, that shall he reap;" and they who have spread snares for others, and been hugely pleased to see them caught by them, shall then be convinced that they have laid the greatest of all for themselves, for "God will then be fully known by the judgment which he shall execute, and the wicked shall be snared in the work of their own hands; for the wicked shall be turned into hell, and all the nations that forget God."^b

4. The terror of the sentence which shall then be passed. That the Judge himself hath told us beforehand what it shall be, to make us more apprehensive of it in this state, wherein we are capable to prevent it by sincere repentance and a holy life. The tenour of it is expressed in those dreadful words, "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels."^c It is impossible to conceive words fuller of horror and amazement than those are, to such as duly consider the importance of them. It is true, indeed, wicked men in this world are so little apprehensive of the misery of departing from God, that they are ready to bid God depart from them, and place no mean part of their felicity in keeping themselves at a distance from him; the true reason of which is, that while they pursue their lusts, the thoughts of God are

disquieting to them; as no man that robs his neighbour loves to think of the judge while he does it; no as though his condition were securer by it; but when men are not wise enough to prevent a danger, they are so great fools to count it their wisdom not to think of it. But therein lies a great part of the misery of another world, that men shall not be able to cheat and abuse themselves with false notions and shows of happiness. The clouds they have embraced for deities shall then vanish into smoke; all the satisfaction they ever imagined in their lusts shall be wholly gone, and nothing but the sad remembrance of them left behind to torment them. All the philosophy in the world will never make men to understand their true happiness so much as one hour's experience of another state will do: all men shall know better, but some shall be more happy and others more miserable by it. The righteous shall not only see God, but know what the seeing of God means, and that the greatest happiness we are capable of is implied therein; and the wicked shall not only be bid to depart from him, but shall then find that the highest misery imaginable is comprehended in it. It is a great instance of the weakness of our capacities here, that our discourses concerning the happiness and misery of a future life are like those of children about affairs of state, which they represent to themselves in a way agreeable to their own childish fancies; thence the poetical dreams of Elysian fields, and turning wheels and rolling stones, and such like imaginations. Not that the Scripture itself sets forth the joys and torments of another world in a way more suited to our fancy than

our understanding; thence we read of "sitting down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob" to represent the happiness of that state, and of "a gnawing worm," and a "devouring fire," and "blackness of darkness," to set forth the misery of it. But as the happiness of heaven doth infinitely exceed the most lofty metaphors of Scripture, so doth the misery of hell the most dreadful representation that can be made of it. Although a worm gnawing our entrails, and a fire consuming our outward parts, be very sensible and moving metaphors, yet they cannot fully express the anguish and torment of the soul, which must be so much greater, as it is more active and sensible, than our bodies can be. Take a man that afflicts himself under the sense of some intolerable disgrace or calamity befallen him, or that is oppressed with the guilt of some horrid wickedness, or sunk into the depth of despair; the agonies and torments of his mind may make us apprehend the nature of that misery, although he falls short of the degrees of it. And were this misery to be of no long continuance, yet the terror of it must needs be great; but when "the worm shall never die, and the fire shall never be quenched," when insupportable misery shall be everlasting, nothing can then be added to the terror of it: and this is as plainly contained in the sentence of wicked men as anything else is. But here men think they may justly "plead with God, and talk with him of his judgments." "What proportion," say they, "is there between the sins of this short life and the eternal misery of another?" which objection is not so

which have been made to it; when to assign a proportion, they have made a strange kind of infinity in sin either from the object, which unavoidably makes sins equal, or from the wish of a sinner that he might have an eternity to sin in, which is to make the justice of God's punishments to be not according to their works, but to their wishes. But we need not stretch things so much beyond what they will bear, to vindicate God's justice in this matter. Is it not thought just and reasonable among men for a man to be confined to perpetual imprisonment for a fault he was not half an hour in committing? Nay, do not all the laws of the world make death the punishment of some crimes which may be very suddenly done? And what is death, but eternal depriving a man of all the comforts of life. And shall a thing, then, so constantly practised and universally justified in the world, be thought unreasonable when it is applied to God? "It is true," some say, "if annihilation were all that was meant by eternal death, there could be no exception against it; but I ask whether it would be unjust for the lawgiver to take away the lives of offenders, in case their souls survive their bodies, and they be for ever sensible of the loss of life? If not, why shall not God preserve the honour of his laws, and vindicate his authority governing the world, by sentencing obstinate sinners to the greatest misery, though their souls live for ever in the apprehension of it? especially since God has declared these things so evidently beforehand, and made them part of his laws, and set everlasting life

other side to balance everlasting misery, and proposed them to a sinner's choice in such a manner that nothing but contempt of God and his grace, and wilful impenitency, can ever betray men into this dreadful state of eternal destruction.

2. Thus much for the argument used by the Apostle, "the terror of the Lord." I now come to the assurance he expresseth of the truth of it: "Knowing therefore the terror of the Lord, we persuade men." We have two ways of proving articles of faith: such as this, concerning Christ's coming to judgment is, —

1. By showing that there is nothing unreasonable in the belief of them.

2. That there is sufficient evidence of the truth and certainty of them.

In the former of these it is of excellent use to produce the common apprehensions of mankind as to a future judgment, and the several arguments insisted on to that purpose: for if this were an unreasonable thing to believe, how come men without revelation to agree about it as a thing very just and reasonable? If the conflagration of the world were an impossible thing, how came it to be so anciently received by the eldest and wisest philosophers? How came it to be maintained by those two sects which were St. Paul's enemies when he preached at Athens, and always enemies to each other, the Epicureans and the Stoics? * It is true they made these conflagrations to be periodical, and not final: but we do not establish the belief of our doctrine

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most unreasonable thing to reject that as impossible to be done, which they assert hath been and may be done. But for the truth and certainty of our doctrine we build that upon no less a foundation than the word of God himself. We may think a judgment to be unreasonable, in general, upon the consideration of the goodness, and wisdom, and justice of God; but all depends upon this supposition, that God doth govern the world by laws, and not by power; but since God himself hath declared it, who is the supreme judge of the world, "that he will bring every work into judgment, whether it be good or evil^a;" since the Son of God made this so great a part of his doctrine with all the circumstances of his own coming again for this purpose since he opened the commission he received from the Father for this purpose when he was upon earth declaring that "the Father had committed all judgment to the Son, and that the hour is coming in which that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth, they that have done good to the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of damnation^b;" since this was so great a part of the Apostle's doctrine, to preach of this judgment to come," and "that God hath appointed a day, the which he will judge the world in righteousness by that Man whom he hath ordained, whereof I have given assurance to all men in that he hath raised him from the dead^c;" no wonder the Apostle speaks with so great assurance of it, "Knowing therefore

^a Eccles. xii. 14.

^b John, v. 22. 28, 29.

^c Acts,

And no persons can have the least ground to question it, but such who wholly reject the Christian doctrine, upon the pretences of infidelity, which are so vain and trifling, that were not their lusts stronger than their arguments, men of wit would be ashamed to produce them; and did not men's passions oversway their judgments, it would be too much honour to them to confute them. But every sermon is not intended for the conversion of Turks and infidels: my design is to speak to those who acknowledge themselves to be Christians, and to believe the truth of this doctrine upon the authority of those divine persons who were particularly sent by God to reveal it to the world. And so I come to the last particular, by way of application of the former, namely,

3. The efficacy of this argument for the persuading men to a reformation of heart and life; "Knowing the terror of the Lord, we persuade men:" for, as another Apostle reasons, from the same argument, "seeing all these things shall be dissolved, what manner of persons ought we to be in all holy conversation and godliness?" There is great variety of arguments in the Christian religion to persuade men to holiness, but none

so able and moving to the generality of mankind especially considering these two things:

1. If this argument doth not persuade men, reason to expect any other should.

2. The condition of such persons is desperate, who can never by any arguments be persuaded to leave off

1. There is no reason to expect any other argument should persuade men, if this, of the terror of the Lord do it not. If an almighty power cannot awaken us, if infinite justice cannot affright us, if a judgment to come cannot make us tremble, and eternal misery leave no impression upon us, what other arguments or methods can we imagine would reclaim us from our sins. We have been too sad an instance ourselves, of the ineffectualness of other means of amendment, by the mercies and judgments of this present life: have any people had a greater mixture of both these things, if we have had in the compass of a few years? If the wisest persons in the world had been to have set down beforehand the method of reforming a sinful nation, they could have pitched upon none more effectual than what we have showed not to be so. First, they would have imagined that, after enduring many miseries and hardships, when they were almost quite sunk under despair, if God should give them a sudden and unexpected deliverance, mere ingenuity and thankfulness would make them afraid to displease a God of so much kindness. But if so great a flash of joy and prosperity instead of that, should make them grow wanton and extravagant, what a course then so likely to reclaim them as a series of smart and severe judgments upon another, which might sufficiently warn, yet not totally destroy. These we have had experience of, of worse than all these, namely, that we are not amended by them: for are the laws of God less broken, or the duties of religion less contemned and despised after these? What vices have been forsaken, what lusts have

men been reclaimed from, nay, what one sort of sin hath been less in fashion than before? Nay, have not their number as well as their aggravation increased among us? Is our zeal for our established religion greater? Is our faith more firm and settled, our devotion more constant, our Church less in danger of either of the opposite factions than ever it was? Nay, is it not rather like a neck of land between two rough and boisterous seas, which rise and swell, and by the breaches they make in upon us, threaten an inundation? By all which we see what necessity there is that God should govern this world by the considerations of another; that when neither judgments nor mercies can make men better in this life, judgment without mercy should be their portion in another. O the infatuating power of sin! when neither the pity of an indulgent Father, nor the frowns of a severe Judge, can draw us from it: when neither the bitter passion of the Son of God for our sins, nor his threatening to come again to take vengeance upon us for them, can make us hate and abhor them: when neither the shame nor contempt, the diseases and reproaches, which follow sin in this world, nor the intolerable anguish and misery of another, can make men sensible of the folly of them, so as to forsake them. Could we but represent to our minds that state wherein we must all shortly be, when the bustle and hurry, the pleasures and diversions, the courtships and entertainments of this world, shall be quite at an end with us, and every one must give an account of himself to God; what another opinion of

abhorrence should we look upon every temp sin, how should we loath the sight of those w betrayed us into sin, or flattered us when we mitted it! Could men but ask themselves tha able question, why they will defy God by viol known laws, unless they be sure he either c will not punish them for it? they would be mo of doing it than they are; for, supposing both is perfect madness. To question his power almighty, or his will, who hath declared it, a mutable, is the height of folly.

2. The condition of such is desperate, whom ments can persuade to leave their sins. For be no breaking prison in that other state, no trial, no corrupting the Judge, no reversing tence, no pardon after judgment, no reprim punishment, no abatement or end of miser canst thou then hope, O impenitent sinner, fly from or to endure that wrath of God that swiftly upon thee to arrest thee by death, ar thee to thy tormenting prison? Canst thou God will discharge thee before that dreadful d when he hath confined thee thither in ord Canst thou hope that day will never come, vindication of God's justice, the honour of C happiness of the blessed, as well as the puni the wicked, make so necessary that it should canst thou hope to defend thyself against an eye, a most righteous Judge, and an accu science, when that day doth come? whe mercies thou hast abused, the judgments

slighted, the motions of grace thou hast resisted, the checks of conscience thou hast stifled, and the sins of all kinds thou hast committed, shall rise up in judgment to condemn thee? Oh that we had all the wisdom to consider of these things in time, that the terror of the Lord may persuade us to break off all our sins by a sincere repentance, and to live so that we may die with comfort, and be for ever with the Lord in his eternal joy.

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THE FIFTH OF NOVEMBER.

A CONFUTATION OF THE CHIEF DOCTRINES POPERY.

[BISHOP LLOYD.]

ACTS, ii. 42.

*And they continued stedfastly in the Apostles' doctrine,
and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and prayer.*

THEY of whom this is said, were that multitude of people whom the Apostles first converted to the Christian faith. All together, in one word, they are called "the Church," in the last verse of this chapter; and being observed, it will soon appear what we are to learn from these words.

They teach us, first, what the Church of Christ was in the Apostles' days.

Secondly, what church is now a true member and branch of it.

Thirdly, that having such a church, it is our duty to continue in it.

Accordingly, in my discourse on these words, I endeavour to show you —

First, a description of that original church by a

tokens and characters, which are described in my text to have been —

First, “the Apostles’ doctrine.”

Secondly, their “fellowship.”

Thirdly, their sacraments, “breaking of bread.”

Fourthly, their worship of God, “and prayers.”

Secondly, I shall consider what church in our days hath those characters of the original Church. I shall show they are very confused in that church which will own them in no other. They are, through God’s blessing, in great purity and perfection in our church.

Lastly, I shall show that it is the duty of every Christian to continue steadfastly, first, in the church that hath those characters; and, secondly, in these things that are the characters of the Church; and thirdly, to live suitably to them in his whole conversation.

First, before I speak of the characters of a true church, I ought to show in few words what it is that is to be known by them.

The Church, *Ecclesia*, among Christians, in the largest use of the word, is the whole multitude of believers joined together in one body, or society, under one head, Jesus Christ.

In the Nicene Creed it is called the Catholic Apostolic Church: Apostolic, because it was planted at first by the Apostles, and still retains the characters of their original church; Catholic, that is, universal, (for that is the plainer English word,) because it is made up of all those particular churches, of which every one hath these characters in my text, and is therefore a true part

For the word catholic, as fond of it as the
in the Roman Church, if any Christian of
some ages after Christ, had heard any one say
Catholic, he would not have been able to have
what religion he had meant. But when the
had used the word *καθολικὴ* in their language
distinguish the Christian Church, as extended
nations, from the Jewish, which was confined
nation in particular, — afterwards to distinguish
common Christianity, which was in all parts
world, from that of a sect which sprang up in
particular country, — after this the word catholic
taken up by them of the Roman Church. In the
process of time they came to distinguish themselves
it, from the Greeks, and from those of the other
churches that first used it.

It could not but seem very strange to the
see them of the Roman Church, whose commu-
tended no farther at that time than only to
part of Europe, that they should call the
Church the catholic, or universal, in opposition
Greeks, and to all other Christians, that they
not only all the rest of this Europe, but all
Christian in Africa and Asia besides. But
strange to any one that considers how natural
men of any sect to make a great business ab-
As they are apt to bestow the worst words
find upon their adversaries, so with the same
they are ready to appropriate the good ones
selves. Thus the Jews will have none but
to be "the children of Abraham." The Turk

none but themselves to be called Mussulmans, believers. The Arian heretics, in their day, would allow none but themselves to be catholics.* If they of the Roman communion will be the only catholics now, who can help it? But we shall not allow it them, till they can prove all other Christians to be schismatics, and us in particular; which will be tried in the issue of this discourse.

The meanwhile to give the word its original use, the catholic church (as I have shown) signifies the universal: and by the universal church^b we mean that which from this head in my text came to disperse itself into all parts of the inhabited world. The original of this church universal, was that church which the Apostles planted first at Jerusalem; therein following the command of our Saviour who bade them, "Go, preach to all nations, beginning at Jerusalem."^c The body of this universal church consists of all those, whether national or less, that are called particular churches; which were either derived from that original church in that age, such as were those seven churches of Asia, and the rest which are mentioned in Scripture, or that have been derived from them by any after conversion, in whatsoever country or age.

These particular churches are many, as the parts of the body are many; and as all those parts together are one body, so all these particular churches make up

* Lucifer, *Caral. adv. Const.* A. l. 1. edit. Paris. 8. 1568. p. 79. and 328. Prosper. *Chr. Anno primo Marciani A. Victor Vitensis* l. 4. beginning.

^b Iren. *adv. Hær.* l. 3. c. 3. calls it, "the church from which every church had its origin."

one universal. One, I say, in both respects, both being derived from one source, that original Church of Jerusalem; and also one, as being united together by those common characters by which that original Church is described in this text.

Those characters are four, which I come now to consider particularly. The Apostles' doctrine, and fellowship, and sacraments, and prayers.

The first is the Apostles' doctrine, the doctrine of faith; and not the inward belief, but the outward profession of it. The inward belief is required to make us true Christians, but the outward profession makes us members of a true church. And as it can be no church that has not a public profession of the Apostles' doctrine, so it can be no *sound* church that embraces any other for the doctrine of faith than what was received from the Apostles.

Now their doctrine, at this time referred to in the text, was no other than what they preached as the faith of Jesus Christ. But considering how long ago it was that they preached; how many ages have passed since and especially what ages they have been; many ages together of darkness and gross ignorance, as they cannot but know that are anything acquainted with history^a, I say, after so many extreme ignorant ages, it is impossible we should have known what was preached by the Apostles, unless it had been also delivered in writing, and unless those writings had been brought down to our hands: and, blessed be God! there was such a delivery, in the books of the New Testament.

^a V. Card. Baron. Annal. Eccl. Anno 900, &c.

In which books, the Apostles bearing witness, as they do, to the Scriptures of the Old Testament, that they were “written by divine inspiration^a”, and that they are “able to make us wise to salvation, through faith in Jesus Christ^b”; and delivering “the faith in Jesus Christ,” as they do, in their own writings, to the end “that all men may believe on him to eternal life.”^c Therefore in these books of the Old and New Testament together, we have a standard of the Apostles’ doctrine, and we have not the like for any other than what is written in these books.

Here is all that we can surely call the doctrine of the Apostles, unless we know more than the fathers of the primitive Church. They through whose hands this doctrine must pass, before it could come into ours, knew nothing but what they had in the Scriptures. This was constantly their “standard and rule of all things,” in the words of St. Chrysostom^d; who says, again, “All things that are necessary, are plain and manifest in the Scriptures.”^e So St. Austin^f says, “All things that belong to faith or life are to be found in plain places of Scripture.” St. Basil^g saith, “Believe those things that are written, inquire not into things that are not written.” St. Jerom^h, “*Non credimus quia non legimus*; we believe no more than we read.” In like manner say many other of the fathers.

^a 2 Tim. iii. 16. 2 Pet. i. 21. ^b 2 Tim. iii. 15. ^c John, xi. 51.

^d Chrysost. in 2 Cor. Hom. 13. edit. Savil. tom. 3. p. 624-43.

^e Idem in 2 Thess. Hom. 3. ib. tom. 4. p. 234. 19.

^f Aug. de Doctr. Christianâ, l. 2. c. 9. edit. Basil. 1541. tom. 3. l. 25. D. In his enim, &c.

And though they did sometimes quote the Apostolical traditions for ritual things, yet in matters of faith, they prove anything from tradition, it is either a written tradition of Scripture, or, if unwritten, it is other than the creed (as it were easy to show in many instances).^a And withal, they believed there was nothing in the creed but what they could prove from the Scriptures; and they did prove it from the Scriptures upon occasion, in every particular.^b

So that, in their judgment, it is not only a sufficient but the only measure of the doctrine of the Apostles. And by this we may judge (as to matter of doctrine) who are, and who are not, members of the Apostolical Church.

The next character is this, that they continued the Apostles' *κοινωνία*, or fellowship; a word that divers senses in Scripture. In this place it seems to be the same as society. They were in the Apostles' society or communion.

Now, to continue in their society (considering what they were, men deputed by Christ for the government of his Church), it could be no other than to continue as members of that body which Christ put under their government.

But how can any be so now, they being dead many ages since, and their government so long

^a Iren. adv. Hær. l. 1. c. 2. and 3. *et alii passim*.

^b Cyprian. Testim. ad Quirinum. lib. 1 and 2. "proving all the faith and life from the Scripture." Constantin. M. apud The Hist. Eccl. l. 1. c. 7. edit. Vales. p. 25. D. offers the Scriptures deciding all controversies touching the faith. So Athanasius and prove every disputed article. And when the heretics produced texts on their side, the fathers always held them to the Scriptures.

expired with them? No, their government is not expired, though they are; for it was to continue "till the end of the world."^a So that, according to the common saying among the Jews, "whosoever one sends being as himself," so our Saviour, having sent the Apostles, saith, "Whosoever receives you, receives me."^b In like manner, whosoever were sent by the Apostles were as themselves; and whosoever continued in their fellowship, were in the fellowship of the Apostles.

Now, their government is declared to have been *ἐπισκοπή*, their bishopric.^c And in this office they were equal among themselves; as our Saviour describes them, sitting on twelve thrones, and judging the twelve tribes of Israel.^d

It is observable that this was after his promise to St. Peter (Matt. xvi. 16. &c.); which promise I consider, by the way, because it is so much pressed by the Romanists to prove a power which Christ had given St. Peter over the rest of the Apostles. If Christ had truly given it, we must then have considered whether St. Peter left any successors in that power; and if so, why not St. John the Apostle by survivance? Why not the bishop of the undoubted Mother Church at Jerusalem? Why not the bishop of some other city, where the Scripture has assured us that St. Peter preached, rather than of Rome, where, if he did preach, we have not a word of it in Scripture? These, and sundry more such questions, would have risen upon that hypothesis, of such a power given to St. Peter.

^a Matt. xxviii. 20.^b Matt. x. 40.^c Acts, i. 20.

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But it is out of question that the Apostles ne-
understood those words of Christ. They knew
power that was promised to St. Peter more than to
selves in that text. For after this^a they were at
among themselves, who should be chief. After this
disputed it again and again; and Christ chid them
time, but never told them, I have promised it to
Nay, it appears that Christ did not intend it,
open declarations to the contrary; that "it shou-
be among them^c," as in secular kingdoms an-
narchies. It appears more plainly in the fulfilling
promise; for he both ordained the rest with St. I
without any difference; and when they altogeth-
received the Holy Ghost, in this chapter, "St.
stood up with the eleven" (ver. 14.), and up-
and them Christ built his Church; even all the
continued, not only in his, but in the fellowship
the Apostles.

Now, if all the Apostles were equal in thei-
κοινη, or government, then it is certain that the
cessors must be so in like manner. Though or-
have precedence before other, for order's sake,
Peter had usually^e among the Apostles, who
were together; and though one may be above
in the same national church, as all primates
human laws, yet none by the law of God hatl
rity over others; I say none among their su-
any more than among the Apostles themselves.

^a Matt. xviii. 1. ; xx. 24. ^b Matt. xx. 25. ; Luke,
^c Matt. xx. 26. ; xxiii. 8, 9, 10. Luke, xxii. 26.
^d John, xx. 21, 22, 23.
^e Usually, but not always; for at Jerusalem, St. James, be-
there, had the precedence. Acts, xv. ; Gal. ii. 9.

Cyprian ^a declares oftentimes in his writings. Not to mention the like, as I might, from many other of the fathers.

Now, the bishops in after times, in their several churches, were undoubtedly held to be the successors of the Apostles.^b We have as great a consent among the ancients for this, as we have for the observation of the Lord's day. And it is evident, from the primitive writers, that they looked upon communion with their bishops as communion with the very Apostles^c: they held it the duty of every Christian to obey them in spiritual things; they held it the duty of every bishop to govern and feed his own flock; to attend to that only, and not to usurp upon his brethren; but all, as occasion served, to do all good offices one for another,

^a Cyprian de Unit. Eccl. c. 3. edit. Paris. 1649. p. 208. "The other Apostles were also that which Peter was; they had an equal share both of honour and of power."

Epist. 51. p. 80. "Every bishop orders his own affairs, and is to give account to God."

Epist. 54. p. 95. "Every one has his own flock to govern, of which he is to give account to God."

Conc. Carth. de Bapt. Hæret. p. 353. "No bishop can be judged by another, or can judge another; but we all wait for the judgment of Christ, who is the only one that has power both to put us into the office and to judge of our discharge of it."

^b Iren. contra Hæreses. l. 3. c. 3. "We can reckon up them who by the Apostles were made bishops in the several churches."

Ibid. "Polycarpus, by the Apostles made bishop of the Church of Smyrna."

Tertullian. de Præscript. c. 36. Edit. Paris. 1641. p. 245. "Run over the apostolic churches, in which are yet the very chairs of the Apostles: ye have Corinth; ye have Ephesus; ye have Philippi; ye have Rome."

Cyprian. Epist. 26. p. 42. "Christ said to Peter, 'Thou art Peter, and I will give thee the keys,' &c. From thence, by course of times and successions, is derived the ordination of bishops in the Church."

Epist. 74. p. 163. "The bishops have succeeded the Apostles, being ordained in their stead."

^c Epist. 68. p. 136. "The Church is a people united to their own

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and to join their endeavours for the common concern-
ments of the Church.* And for them so to govern
Church, and for the people to live under their govern-
ment, in spiritual things: this was to live "in the
lowship of the Apostles;" which is the second charac-
ter in my text.

The third is the participation of the same sacrament.
One only is mentioned in my text, that is, the sacra-
ment of the Lord's supper; for, being already bap-
tized, they had no more occasion for baptism: but
being spoken of before (ver. 41.), I therefore mention
both these sacraments.

The use of both these, in the Apostles' times, was
character and token of the Christian Church. Th
St. Paul (1 Cor. xii. 13.) mentions both these sacra-
ments as the instruments and means by which we are
united to Christ. "By one Spirit we are all baptiz-
ed into one body, and we have all been made to drink
into one Spirit."

Both these sacraments they received of Christ's own
institution, who required them to be used in all ages
of the Church, to be administered to all its members
by every church, and that in the same manner
they were instituted by Christ; I mean as to all the
essential parts of the sacraments. However ceremon-

* Epist. 66. p. 128. "To Stephen, bishop of Rome. Therefore,
dear brother, there is a numerous body of bishops united together
the bond of concord and unity; that if any one of our college should
attempt to make a sect, and to tear and spoil the flock of Christ, the
may come in to help, and, as good and compassionate shepherds,
gather the Lord's sheep into the flock."

or rites may be varied, yet, in their essential parts, they are of perpetual obligation.

For baptism, when it was instituted by our Saviour for the admission of members into his Church, he said thus to his Apostles: "Go, make disciples (that is, Christians) of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."^a And thus doing, "Lo, I am with you till the end of the world."^b

And for the Lord's supper, he administered it himself to his disciples, who were then not in orders, for it was before his death; and he did not ordain them till after his resurrection: and administering the sacrament to them, who were not in orders, "He took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to them, saying, Take, eat, this is my body."^c And what follows? "He gave them the cup," in like manner, "saying, Drink ye all of it." "This is my blood," or "This cup is the New Testament in my blood."^d

Accordingly, it was done in the Church in the Apostles' times. The Apostle calls it the "bread" and the "cup" which they received in the sacrament, never otherwise; though, spiritually and sacramentally, the body and blood of Christ, yet bread and wine in its natural and bodily substance. He says, "The cup which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? And the bread which we break, is it not the

^a Matt. xxviii. 19, *Μαθητεύσατε*, make disciples; so Acts, xiv. 21. But *μαθηταί*, disciples, is as much to say as Christians. Acts, xi. 26.

^b Matt. xxviii. 20.

ments which they used, and that in all the essentials of them, according to Christ's own institution.

A fourth character in this text is "prayer," *προσευχαῖς*, in the plural number; that is, not one or two, but many, and oft; and it appears they were public prayers, by what follows, ver. 46.: "They continued daily with one accord in the Temple." There the Apostles used to meet after Christ's ascension into heaven. They "were continually in the Temple, praising and blessing God."^a They were constantly there in the times of devotion, as may appear from Acts, iii. 1., and other places. They continued this practice as long as the Jews would suffer them, till they drove them away from their temple and synagogues: after which, these first Christians had assemblies elsewhere, as we read Acts, xviii. 17.

In which assemblies, what they prayed, and what they did besides praying, we have no particular account in Holy Scripture; but we have in those writers that lived within the age of the Apostles: that is, in an epistle of the younger Pliny to Trajan^b, and in St. Justin Martyr's second Apology.^c

There we find in Pliny^d, that they did *carmen Christo quasi Deo dicere secum in vicem*. They spoke verses, answering one another by turns; as we speak the reading Psalms. I know not how he could better express it.

And, saith Justin Martyr, they read lessons out of the Apostles and out of the Prophets^e; and when the

^a Luke, xxiv. 53.

^b Plin. lib. x. epist. 97.

reader had done, the bishop preached, ὁ Προεστὼς, the bishop or the chief minister.

Then they rose up all together, and prayed. had, saith Justin Martyr, Κοινὰς ἐυχὰς, "common prayers^a;" (those are his words;) in which they prayed for themselves and for their princes^b, and for all that were living with them.^c They prayed on God^d, saith Justin Martyr twice.^e

This, together with the administration of the sacraments, and their gatherings for the poor, is an account they give us of their meetings, which account being given much within fifty years of the Apostles' times, we may reasonably conclude it was the manner of their prayers, the use whereof was the fourth character in our description of the Apostolic Church.

Besides these, you see my text hath given another; and therefore, whosoever would make such a church, he may do well to judge of it by these characters, being all that the Apostles have given.

But if these were the notes of a true church in the Apostles' times, what mean they of the now Roman Church, to require any other? Or what would have that cannot content themselves with these? Would their hearts misgive them that these are not for their turn: either they have them not, or others have them as well as they; and therefore they choose rather

^a P. 97. C.

^b P. 64. D.

^c P. 97. C. "And for all others every where, that we may live in truth," &c.

^d P. 63. D. Ὡς δὲ καὶ τὸν Θεὸν μόνον δεῖ προσκυνεῖν, οὕτως εἰπὼν, Μεγίστη ἐντολή ἐστὶ, Κύριον τὸν Θεὸν προσκυνήσεις, καὶ αὐτὸν λατρεύσεις, p. 64. D. ὁ Θεὸς μὲν μόνον προσκυνούμεν.

^e P. 97. D., and 98. D.

insist upon those which they can hope to appropriate as their own nation.

It is not worth the while, in this place, to reckon up the fifteen marks of a true church, which Bellarmin^a gives us: all which are either common to other societies as well as a true church; or, if they are proper to such a church, they are elsewhere no less, nay, much more, in some others than in theirs.

As for the essential properties here in my text, they are put down, and those are from an infallible authority, the like whereof cannot be showed for any other. Therefore our church desires nothing more than to be tried by these tokens. If the same way of trial does not please them so well in the Roman Church, we cannot wonder as in for these make no way for them, but against them in every particular. I shall make a short proof of it in trying their Catholick Church (as they call it) by these characters of the primitive Apostolic Church.

And first for "the doctrine of the Apostles." If the public profession of that, without any other, be required of any true church, and if the Scriptures contain all the doctrine of the Apostles, as it was firmly believed by the fathers in the primitive Church, how come they of the Roman Church to find out so many doctrines of which there is no mention in the Scriptures, nor in any of the primitive fathers? In what place were they kept, to be made known in after times, that were not known to them that lived in or near the Apostles' times?

^a Bellarmine de Controversiis et Ecclesiis lib. 4.

But they have I know not how many such doctrines and they are properly doctrines of their church. They are declared by their councils, with most dreadful threats to all those that shall presume to deny them. We see they unchurch us; we know what they would do more, and may guess what they would do to us, for denying them; but they have them in their creed, the creed that is sworn by all their clergy. They swear, first, the old Nicene, and add to that the new Roman creed. They conclude it in these words: *Hanc esse veram Catholicam fidem extra quam salvus esse potest.*^b That this is the true Catholic faith without which no man can be saved.

What a horrible thing is this, to couple together "to believe in God, and in our Lord Jesus Christ," with "to believe the doctrines of transubstantiation, auricular confession, image-worship, purgatory, indulgences, and what not? Some of which things, some of which themselves do confess^c, are not so much as once

^a In the form of profession prescribed by Pius IV. according to the decree of the Council of Trent, sess. 24. Decret. de Reformatione, c. 12.

^b Concil. edit. Labb. tom. 14. col. 946. B.

^c Of transubstantiation, this is confessed by Biel in Ca. Lect. 40. beginning: "That whether the bread be turned into his body, or remains with his body, it is not found expressly in Scriptures."

Bellarmin, de Eucharist. iii. 23. Tertio addit., mentions that their church had said the like; and he grants it not improvable, if it could not be proved out of Scripture, till the Scripture was altered by a general council; meaning, as he there shows, that of Lateran, twelve hundred years after Christ.

Of auricular confession, Gloss. in Decr. de Pœnit. dist. 5. Semeca saith, "It was instituted by some tradition of the Church, rather than by the authority of the New or Old Testament." Panormitan super Quinto, de Pœnit. et Remis. c. Omnis saith, "I am much pleased with that opinion of Semeca; not any plain authority, which shows that God or Christ

tioned in Scripture; and none of them is mentioned there in plain words, not in any words that were understood so by the fathers for many ages after Christ.

For the doctrine of transubstantiation, besides that we find nothing for it, but many things against it, in the ancients^a, so many that we are sure it could not be the tradition of those times, we see at its first birth it was declared to be a novelty and a falsehood, by Rabanus, archbishop of Mentz^b, and by other of the

plainly, that confession should be made to a priest." Biel, in Sent. iv. 17. G., saith, "It was delivered, by word and deed, without any Scripture."

For image worship, Bellarmin, de Eccl. Triumph. ii. 12., can find only two texts of the New Testament. Matt. v. 33.: "Swear neither by heaven, for it is God's throne; nor by earth, for it is his footstool." And 2 Tim. iii. 15.: "From a child thou hast known the Holy Scriptures." In the Old Testament, some find it enjoined in the second commandment, as Jacob. de Graffis, Decis. aur. Cas. Consc. part. 1. C. 2. c. 2. §. penult. But the fathers, in the second Nicene Council, established it, as being observed in the Church without Scripture. Concil. edit. Labb. tom. 7. col. 838. E. 863. C. 886. C. 887. A.

Of purgatory, Baconthorp, in sent. l. 4. dist. 49. q. 1., saith, "Others think it cannot be proved by the authority of Scriptures." Perion, Topic. Theolog., saith, "He knows not a passage in all the Scripture for purgatory." Which being objected by Mornay, in his book Of the Eucharist, Bulenger, in his Responce Catholique, p. 279., answers him, "It is hard, indeed, to find any express and clear text for it."

For indulgences, St. Antonin. Summ. Moral. part. 1. tit. 10. c. 3. beginning: "Of indulgences we have nothing expressly from Scripture, nor from the sayings of the ancients, but of the late doctors." Cajetan opusc. Tom. 1. tract. 15. c. 1.: "Of the rise of them, no authority of Scripture, or ancient doctors, Greek or Latin, have brought this to our knowledge: only within these three hundred years it hath been written," &c. Bishop Fisher, Assert. Luther. Confutatio, Art. 18. p. 135., grants "there is neither precept nor counsel for it in Scripture."

^a As that what we receive in the sacrament is bread in its own nature and essence, and that it nourisheth our body, &c. That wicked men receive no other but bread, though to the faithful it is truly Christ's body, and therefore it is called his body. That it is a sacrament, a sign, an image, and a figure of his body: which last words were in the canon of the mass, till it was altered in favour to this new opinion. Vide Gratian Decr. de Consecr. dist. 2. c. 55.

^b Rabanus, in his canonical epistle published by Baluz, with his

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c. 55.

istle published by Baluz, vi.
Some of late, not holding ex-

most learned men that lived eight or nine
years after Christ.^a We find at that time, and
hundred years after, it was a rude lump^b, which
much licking over to perfect it.^c And then
both shape and a name, it was defined to be of
Pope Innocent, in his Lateran Council, above
hundred years after Christ.

For confession to a priest, the necessity
unknown to the fathers of the primitive Church
above a thousand years after Christ, it was
putable in the Roman Church^e; and though

the sacrament, have said that the body of Christ which was
Virgin Mary, &c. is [the same which is received at the altar]
which error we have written to Egilus Abbas." But that is
and in this, as Baluz shows, [those last words] were raised
manuscript.

^a Bertramus, or Ratrannus Corbeiensis, in his book written
by order of Carolus Calvus, and transcribed in great part in
Homily; which book is mentioned as his, by the nameless
fence of Paschasius, and by Sigebert, de Script. Eccl. c. 96.

Johannes Scotus, Professor at Oxford in king Alfred's
book against it, that was burnt two hundred years after, when
vation had prevailed; but none of these books were censured
when they were written.

^b Anno 1059. The pope and his Roman council put
into the mouth of Berengar, "that not the sacrament, but the
of Christ, is broken and ground by the teeth of the faithful."
Gloss there saith, was a greater heresy than Berengar's,
words be taken in a sound sense, that is, otherwise than
Decr. de Consecr. dist. 2. c. 42. Ego Berengarius.

^c About the year 1150, the Master of the Sentences,
saith, "Whether the change be formal or substantial, or of
kind, I am not able to define. Only I know it is not formal."
anno 1215, Pope Innocent defined it to be "of no other
stantial." Conc. Lateran. 4. c. 1.

^d "Of secret sins, no confession is necessary, but to
Chrysost. edit. Savil. tom. i. p. 708. 11., iv. p. 589. 40.,
and p. 262. 44.

^e Gratian., Decret. de Pœnit. Dist. 1. c. 89., "quibus
having brought arguments for and against it, thus conclude
side is in the right, I leave the reader to judge, for on both
are wise and religious men."

The Master of the Sentences, lib. 4. dist. 17., though

tice of it was imposed by Pope Innocent, in his Council of Lateran^a, yet, even then it remained disputable as to the doctrine^b, till it was made to be of faith by the Trent Council.^c

For their doctrine of image worship, than which nothing can be more contrary to the Scriptures, as they were understood by the primitive fathers^d; we know it was established by the second Nicene Council^e, and we know what a council that was. But it was condemned in the same age by two as numerous councils; that of Constantinople a little before it^f, and that of Frankfort immediately after it.^g

for confession, yet saith, "Learned men differ about it, for so the doctors seem to vary and deliver things near contrary to one another about it:" so that yet it was disputable in those times.

^a Conc. Lateran. 4. can. 21.

^b Gloss. in Decr. de Pœnit. dist. 1. c. 37. alii è contr. saith: [Here follow allegations, to prove that one of age is not forgiven sin without confession; which is false.]

^c Conc. Trident. sess. 14. can. 6, 7, 8. After which, in the Roman edition of the canon law, there were notes put upon those places above mentioned. Where Gratian doubted whether confession were necessary, they say, "It is most certain, and to be held for most certain, that confession is necessary." And where Semeca had said, "It is false," they say, "Nay, it is most true."

^d The second commandment, which forbids bowing down before any image or likeness, though it does not appear in the Roman Decalogue, was held by the fathers to be a law of perpetual obligation. So Irenæus adv. Heres. l. 2. c. 6. and l. 4. c. 31. Clemens Alex. Admon. ad Gentes, edit. Leyd. 1616. p. 31. 12. Strom. 5. Ib. p. 408. 22. Tertull. de Idololatria, c. 4. p. 105. D. Idem. adv. Marcion, l. 2. c. 22. p. 470. A. B. Idem. in Scorpiac. c. 2. p. 617. C. D. Cyprian. de Exhort. Mart. p. 283. Idem. in Testim. ad Quirinum, l. 3. c. 59. p. 345. Augustin. epist. 119. c. 2. tom. 2. col. 569. A.

^e The English and French and Germans of that age called it Pseudo-synodum, the mock-synod, of Nice, or rather of Constantinople, because it began and ended in that city. Concil. edit. Labb. tom. 7. p. 37. D. and 592. B. Hincmar. Opusc. 93. c. 20. Edit. Sirmondi, tom. 2. p. 457. Ado Vienn. æt. 6. edit. Paris. 1512. fol. 181. Annal. Fuld. et V. opera Alcuini in fine.

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 4. c. 31. Clemens Alex.
 31. 12. Strom. 5. lib. p. 48.

5. D. Idem. adv. Marcion.
 piac. c. 2. p. 617. C. D.
 in Testim. ad Quirina.
 c. 2. tom. 2. col. 569. A.

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 ar. Opusc. 33. c. 20. Edit. 1512.
 6. edit. Paris 1512. fol. 181. B.

but what is repeated out of it
 Labb. tom. 7. col. 392. E.

And the matter was held in debate all that age
 both the Eastern^a and Western^b Church: till at last
 was settled in the East according to the Nicene Council,
 which they have so much outdone in the Roman
 Church, that even the Greeks charge them with
 aty^c; and they are not wholly excused from it
 many of their own communion.^d

For their doctrine of purgatory, it doth not appear
 that any one of the ancients hit upon it, among all
 different opinions^e that they had concerning separ-

^a Baron, anno 842, num. 16., saith, "Till that year, the Nicene Council
 had not prevailed in the Eastern Church."

^b Witness the book of Charles the Great, and that of the Synod of
 Paris under Ludovicus Pius, and that of Agobard, bishop of Lyons,
 against the worship of images, as it was then in the Roman Church.

^c For their carved images of saints, Goar, in Eucholog. p. 28.
 "The Greeks abhor carved images as idols, of which they do not
 to sing in David's words, 'They have mouths, and speak not.'
 for picturing God, the second Nicene Council condemns it, by approving
 the epistle of St. German, which calleth the image of God an idol."
 Concil. edit. Labb. tom. 7. col. 301. E. and 304. A.

^d Lud. Vives, in his notes on Aug. de Civitate Dei, l. 8. c. 27. tom.
 col. 494. B., saith, "In many Catholics, I do not see what difference
 there is between their opinion of the saints, and the heathens' opinion
 their gods." Polydor. Virg., de Invent. l. 6. c. 13., saith, "Men
 come to that pitch of madness, that this part of piety differeth little
 impiety; for very many trust more in their images, than in Christ
 the saints, to whom they are dedicated." The like complaints have
 other of their writers. Bellarmine, de cultu Imag. 2. 22. edit.
 1599. tom. 2. col. 836. E., saith, "That they who hold that some
 are to be worshipped with Latria, are forced to use most subtle
 tions, which they themselves scarce understand, much less the ignorant
 people." And yet this, which he so censures, is "the constant judgment
 of divines, and seems to be the meaning of the Council of Trent."
 Azorius, Institut. Moral. l. 9. c. 6.

^e Some held, "that all go immediately after death to heaven or hell."
 Others, "that none go to either, but that all are kept in secret receptacles
 till the general resurrection." Some, "that the martyrs go to heaven
 and the damned souls to hell; but all the rest are kept there in
 ation and suspense till the day of judgment." Some held, "that
 shall be a first resurrection of the righteous, of whom some shall
 sooner, some later, in the thousand years of Christ's reign upon
 and that the delay of that resurrection shall be the punishment
 sins." Others held, "that their sins shall be purged away by fire."

souls, till St. Austin's time; and yet then, we are as sure it was no Catholic tradition^a, as we can be of any thing of that age. After near two hundred years more, it was believed by one of great name^b; from whose fabulous writings it got credit^c; and so crept by degrees into the faith of the Roman Church.^d But it is received by no other Christians.

that shall burn the world at the last day; and that they shall burn a longer or less while, and with more or less pain, according to the degrees of their sins." All the fathers were of some or other of these opinions, which are all inconsistent with the Roman doctrine of purgatory.

^a Aug., de Fide et Operibus, c. 15. tom. 4. p. 69. E., saith, "Some think men that die in sin may be purged with fire, and then be saved, holding the foundation: for so they understand that text, 1 Cor. iii. 13.: "They shall be saved as by fire." So Enchirid. ad Laurent. c. 67. tom. 3. p. 175. C. Ibid. de Fide et Operibus, p. 71. B. He saith, "That this is one of those places which St. Peter saith are hard to be understood, which men ought not to wrest to their own destruction." Ibid. c. 16. p. 73. B. He saith, "for his own part, he understandeth that text to be meant of the fire of tribulation in this life." So Enchir. ad Laur. lb. c. 68. But for the doctrine, he saith, "That some such thing may be, is not incredible; and whether it be so, it may be inquired; and it may be found, or it may not." So Enchir. ad Laur. c. 69. p. 176. D. All these texts he repeats again, in his answer to the first of the eight questions of Dulcitius. De Civitate Dei, l. 21. c. 26. tom. 5. p. 1315. B. He again delivereth the same meaning of that text; and as to the doctrine, he saith, "I do not find fault with it, for perhaps it is true." Ibid. p. 1316. B. I suppose St. Austin would not have said this of the doctrine of Christ's incarnation.

^b Pope Gregory I., in his Dialogues, where, among many idle tales, he hath some that are palpably false, and such as bewray both his ignorance and credulity together. For example, that of St. Paulin's being a slave in Africa till the death of the king of the Vandals, who could be no other than Genseric, that outlived St. Paulin five and forty years. And yet Gregory saith, "I heard this from our elders, and this I do as firmly believe as if I had seen it with my own eyes." Lib. 1. Præf. et c. 1.

^c Bishop Fisher, against Luther's Assert. Art. 18. p. 132., saith, "It was a good while unknown, and then it was believed by some (pedetentim) by little and little, and so at last it came to be generally received by the Church."

^d Platina (who then lived), in the Life of Eugenius IV. edit. Colon. 1593. p. 310., saith, "After many meetings, and much contention about it, the Greeks at last being overcome with reasons, did believe there was a place of purgatory." But he adds, that "not long after they returned

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"That this is one of the most known errors of the Greeks a
nians." Bzov. contin. Baron., anno 1514. n. 19., saith, "Th
vites and Russians believe no purgatory. Most of these
middle state, as those ancients did; but that will not stand
doctrine."

^a For the age of it, scarce any go higher than the station
Gregory I., who lived about the year 600; and to fetch it f
times, they have no ancients author than Thomas Aqu
neither Gratian nor Peter Lombard have so much as one wo
matter. So Cardinal Cajetan, Opusc. tom. 1. tract. 15. c.
"This only has been written within these three hundred year
cerning the ancient fathers, that Pope Gregory instituted the i
of stations, as Aquinas hath it." So likewise Bishop F
Alphonsus a Castro, both ubi supra. Cardinal Bellarmin, c
l. 3., offers some kind of proof from elder times, in such a m
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Gregory I. he saith, "we are impudent if we deny it." But
larmin's leave, a French oratoire, Morinus, de Pœnit. l. 10. c.
deny it, and convicts this, and all his other proofs of indulgen
Gregory VII., to be nothing but forgery and imposture.

It seems probable, indeed, that Gregory VII. (commonly
his former name, Hildebrand) was the first that granted any in
and that was above a thousand years after Christ. Card
casuum. l. 7. c. 21. 1., saith, that "Paschal II. was the first th
indulgences for the dead." That must be about the year 1
Ibid. lib. 6. c. 24. 3., he saith, that "the first that granted
indulgences was Pope Boniface VIII.," who lived about the
so ancient is this new Catholic faith.

^b The ground of this faith (according to Bellarmin, de Indu
is made up of a number of school opinions put together; a
opinions (as he there saith) the schoolmen have differed an
selves. But all his comfort is, that they that did not hold hi
ready to acquiesce in the judgment of the Church, if she helo
He might as well have said that the Church, when they lived
from having declared her judgment of this doctrine, that she
declared her sense of those opinions, which were to be the g
in after times.

^c The design of Hildebrand's indulgences was to engage
in his quarrel, and to do other services to the papacy. Gr
Epist. ii. 54., and vi. 10. 15., and vii. 13., and viii. 6. Th
Pope Boniface, in his farther improvement of this invention,

run on into this, to show the world (as afterward he did), by this example, what stuff the lusts of men, left to themselves, would bring into the Christian religion.

It were easy to show the like in all their new articles of faith. Most of them I shall consider as they come under the other heads of my discourse. The meanwhile these may pass for a sample of the rest. They all sprung up in late corrupt times, and went at first as private opinions only; but being found to make well for the interests of the clergy^a, they were concerned to bring them in credit with the people. And they took a way for it that could not fail in such an age, by forging new revelations and miracles^b, when by these means,

money. Chron. Citiz. anno 1289. "He was greedy of money, and to gather it, he sent his legates into divers parts of the world, to trade with indulgences; and with these he raised very great sums, enough to have maintained a holy war; but what became of it we shall know at doomsday."

^a Transubstantiation, for the honour of the clergy; confession, for their power and authority; image worship, to bring in oblations to the Church; purgatory, for the profit of masses to the lower clergy; indulgences, for the profit of the superior; plenary indulgences, for the pope's own coffers.

^b For transubstantiation, the first that wrote was Paschas. Ratbertus, about the year 820; and he tells us of sundry persons that had seen, instead of the host, one a lamb, another a child, another flesh and blood. Paschas. de Corp. et Sang. Dom. c. 14.; and after the year 1200, when it was defined to be of faith, Cæsarius of Hiesterbach wrote a whole volume of miracles that were wrought in that age to confirm the truth of it, more in number than are recorded in Scripture to confirm the whole divine revelation.

For auricular confession, Bellarmin produces sundry revelations and miracles, by which he saith, "God witnessed that the Church's faith concerning it was true," De Pœnit. l. 3. c. 12. quarta. Among the rest, he hath that of St. Francis, who raised one from the dead to be confessed, which I take to be no less than the fetching of Trajan's soul from hell, according to their doctrine.

For image worship, the fathers, in that second Nicene Council, set it up in contemplation of the miracles that were wrought by the images. Concil. edit. Labb. tom. 7. c. 22. c. 23. Bellarmin. de Imagin. sanct.

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 brought them in, there was another reason to cor-
 them: it was necessary for the credit of the infall-
 of the Roman Church. Touch that, and you shall
 whole building of popery, even to the foundati-
 is, the papacy itself.^a To secure that, they are
 under this miserable necessity, of holding all
 tholic faith, that is once received in the Roman
 Whatsoever she bringeth forth, must be false
 the Apostles, though there is not the least con-
 in their writings.

But to show how little trust they have in their
 writings, there needs no other instance than
 their Church hath forbid her laity to read

images, were therefore done, that they might prove
 doctrine of images."

For purgatory, Pope Gregory, in his before-men-
 l. 4. c. 55, &c., declares upon what ground it was then
 namely, from the relation of the poor souls themselves
 to the hot baths, and kept there at hard work, sweated
 to be; from which miserable bondage they were re-
 and masses, as he tells us. So Bishop Fisher (*ubi su-*
 "Purgatory was found out, partly by revelations
 tures;" but scriptures, he confesseth, so understood
 in former times.

And for indulgences, he tells us, that they came
 men had quaked a while at the flames of purgatory
 doctrine fitted men for this; and yet this had mis-
 Lintur. ad Fascic. temp. anno. 1489., tells, how
 in the shape of a dog, helped one to rob the pope
 his factors had taken in that city; for which the pope
 was put to a most direful death.

^a Bellarmin, de Romano Pontifice, præf., saith
 the pope's power, we speak of the sum of Chris-

^b Rule 4th of the Index, made by order of the
 "Whosoever shall presume to read or have a B
 translation, without a faculty in writing from
 cannot receive absolution, till he has delivered
 ordinary." For fear this should not be en-

hath taken a course that if they read they cannot well understand them. The Scripture was written by the Apostles in the most vulgar language of their times, the Greek, which was the mother tongue of most, and well known in all countries where the Scripture was written.^a And they wrote it for every one to read, as it appears in plain words in their writings.^b And the ancient fathers required all men to read it^c, all the laity, even the meanest of the laity^d; they condemned

has added this note, that "by command and practice of the holy Inquisition, no bishop has power to grant any such faculty to read or keep a Bible in any vulgar tongue."

^a Cicero pro Archia, edit. Grut. l. 292. 17.

^b St. John saith, at the end of the Gospel, "These things are written, that ye might believe; and that, believing, ye might have life."

St. Paul directs his epistles to all in general. Rom. i. 7.: "To all that be in Rome, beloved of God," &c. 1 Cor. i. 2.: "To the church of God at Corinth, with all that in every place call upon the name of Jesus Christ." 2 Cor. i. 1.: "To the church at Corinth, with all the saints which are in all Achaia." So in other epistles.

^c Chrysos. in Gen. Sermon. 29. tom. 1. p. 225. 10.: "I beseech you to attend with diligence to the reading of the Scriptures; and that not only while you are here, but also at home; to take the Bible in your hands, and receive the profit of it with care."

Lin. 22.: "Let us not, I beseech you, neglect so great a profit; but also in our houses, let us diligently attend the reading of Scriptures."

Lin. 36.: "That we may not only have enough for ourselves, but be able to help others, and instruct wife and children and neighbours," &c.

Id. in Joh. Sermon. 53. tom. ii. p. 776. 27.: "I beseech you, get Bibles."

Id. in his sermon Of the profit of reading Scripture, tom. 8. p. 112. 43.: "Let us apply ourselves to reading, not only these two hours, for this bare hearing is not enough to secure us; but continually let every one, when he is come home, take his Bible, and go over the sense of those things that have been said: for the tree that was planted by the waters, was by the waters, not two or three hours, but all day and all night: therefore it bringeth forth leaves and fruit, &c. So he that is continually reading the Scriptures, though he have none to interpret, yet, by continual reading, he draws much profit."

Id. de Lazaro, Sermon. 3. tom. 5. p. 242. 30.: "This I alway beseech, and will never leave beseeching you, that you would not only attend to what is said in this place, but also that when you are at home, you would

the neglect of it; they commended them the day and night.* There is nothing more frequent in the writings of the ancient fathers.

Yet now it is found out that the laity must themselves with reading it. How so? It will make them heretics. One would little expect it, to read what the fathers say of this matter.^b But it is heresy to disbelieve the Roman Church. No doubt, to read the Scripture will bring men to it. But whose fault is it? Surely theirs, that in reforming their church, have rather chosen to reject the Scriptures. Which being done in favour of the doctrines, it appears that they themselves (I mean

the Apostle: "Let the word of God dwell in you richly;" "I people of the world, you that have charge of wife and children, exhorts you more than others to read the Scriptures; and slightly, or any how, but with much diligence."

Again, p. 137. 2. : "Hear, I beseech you, all you that would live, and get yourselves Bibles for the cure of your souls."

Lin. 7. : "This is the cause of all evils, that men do not read the Scriptures."

Lin. 9. : "Do not throw all upon us [of the clergy]: you are but not brutes, but rational creatures."

* Chrys. de Lazaro, serm. 3. tom. 5. p. 244. 43. "Take the word of God, read all the history; hold fast the known things, and go over the dark and unknown, go often over them; and if thou cannot understand, continual reading, find out what is said, go to thy teacher; if he cannot teach thee, God will, seeing thy diligence," &c.

^b Chrys. de Lazaro, serm. 3. tom. 5. p. 245. 18. "The word of God is a great security against sin. The ignorance of the word is a great precipice, and a deep pit. It is a great betraying of the soul to know nothing of the laws of God. It is this that hath brought forth heresies, this that hath brought in corrupt life, this that hath put things upside down. For it is impossible, I say, it is impossible, for one to depart without fruit that enjoys reading continually." &c.

^c Bellarm. de Verbo Dei, 2. 15. quid quid. "The people are not only receive no benefit, but would also receive hurt by the Scriptures."

Peter Sutor tract. Biblicus, c. 22. sed. 36. "Will it be drawn away easily from observing the Church's doctrine? shall find that they are not contained in the law of God."

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governors of their church) have been sensible that some, at least, of their doctrines are not the doctrines of the Apostles.

In the next place, for "the Apostles' fellowship," which I have interpreted to be union under lawful pastors and governors; they can by no means allow this character to our church, or to any that submits not to their universal pastor. Which title they appropriate to the Bishop of Rome; and him they swear, in their forementioned profession of faith, to be "the vicar of Christ and the successor of St. Peter the Apostle." And to show how far they dare go against evidence^a, they swear also that his Roman Church is not only mistress but also the mother of all churches.

Not to say in how many things he that will be supreme pastor invades the just rights of other pastors, who are all, in the judgment of primitive times, the successors of the apostles of Christ; or how little he hath to show for his claim to a succession in that power from St. Peter, either in scripture story or in the writings of the primitive Church^b; I shall only desire you to consider these beginnings of Christianity in my text. When the whole Church was comprehended in three or four thousand believers, and they were all together with the Apostles at this time in Jerusalem, it is certain that then there was no bishop nor no Christian at Rome. So that then for the Bishop or Church of Rome to be any thing which they swear

^a Luke xxiv. 47. Gal. iv. 26. The second general council called "the church of Jerusalem the mother of all churches." Theodorit. Eccl. Hist. v. 9. edit. Vales. p. 211. D.

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they are, in those articles of their faith, was surely
part of the Apostles' doctrine.

Nor did the fellowship of the Apostles consist
subjection to St. Peter. Though he was the first
order^a, yet that he had authority over the rest there
no ground to assert. There is much evidence against
it, as I have shown from sundry places of Scripture.

Nor, granting this to St. Peter (which they can
prove), can they bring down a title from him to
Roman bishop. He hath a better pretence to suc-
ceed the Roman emperors in monarchy^b than he hath
succeed any of the apostles. And, indeed, that
the design, as they know that are skilled in the works
of ancient times. Rome seemed a place designed
empire; and when the emperors failed, then the bishops
set up in their stead.^c What the emperors could
hold by arms the bishops would fetch in by religion.
And so they obtrude upon all Christians, in truth.

^a Matt. x. 2.

^b Dom. a Soto in Sent. 4. dist. 46. q. 1. art. 1. "Though [the
fourth monarchy, that is,] the civil empire of the Romans hath
ceased, yet the world is not at an end, because that temporal
hath been changed into a spiritual; as Pope Leo saith, in his sermon
the Apostles."

^c What the popes would have had, it may appear by their for-
donation from Constantine, in which they make him give them
crown and sceptre, together with the city of Rome, and all the
provinces, places, and cities; and that he might leave the pope
session, they make him remove into the East, and there build a
for his empire, reserving only the honour to put on the pope's crown
hold his stirrup, to himself and his successors. Concil. Edit. 1530.
fol. 58. A. B. This donation was a part of the acts of St.
Peter, which were forged in the eighth century, and that, proba-
Pope Adrian I., for he first quoted them; and he may justly be
to be the author of that body of law, which, under the name
Isidor's collection, was generally received within a hundred years
and which obtains to this day in the Roman Church, though the
men among them are convinced and own that it is an arrant
corruption and forgery.

secular monarchy, instead of that which my text calls "the fellowship of the Apostles."

Thirdly, for the two sacraments of the Apostles, they tell us of seven, which were instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ. In this chapter we read of baptism (ver. 41.), and we read of "breaking of bread" in my text. Here are two; but where are the other five? They were not thought of at that time, for aught that appears to us in Scripture.^a Nay, it doth not appear in a thousand years after. It was eleven hundred years after, when Peter Lombard wrote his book of the Sentences, before which they cannot find the least mention of that number of sacraments.^b

But to speak of no more than that mentioned in my text. Where is the "breaking of bread?" As they receive it in the Roman Church, there is neither "breaking" nor "bread" in their sacrament.^c Where is the "communion of Christ's body and blood?"^d Their daily worship is the mass; but their mass is no "communion:" the priest only consecrates and eats, while

^a 1 Cor. x. 2, 3, 4., and xii. 13. St. Paul mentions only baptism and the Lord's supper.

^b Bellarmin, de Sacram. 2. cap. 24., endeavours to show that each of the five has been called a sacrament by one or other of the fathers; and the like he might have shown of twenty things more. But he could not produce one father that either said there were seven sacraments of Christ's instituting, or that spoke of all these as being such, or of so many as would make up that number. Only he says, cap. 25., "The Master of the Sentences, and all divines since his time, have delivered that there are seven sacraments;" and adds, "If this be false, the whole Church for four hundred years must have erred most perniciously." He might have said the whole Roman Church, and we should not much have differed about it.

^c The invention of the wafer came in after the doctrine of transubstantiation. Cassandri Liturgic. c. 27. It was then of use; for the senses have less to do about a wafer than about bread.

^d 1 Cor. x. 16.

all the people stand by and adore. Was there ever such a thing heard of in the primitive times?^a In those times none were suffered to be present but only such as received^b; and if any were present, they were punishable if they did not receive.^c What could they have thought of such a sacrament as is now the daily worship of the Roman Church?^d

we are all partakers," &c. If that be a good reason, then they which are not partakers have not that communion. So it is inferred by the twelfth Council of Toledo, can. 5., "that they who do not eat are not partakers of the altar." Concil. ed. Lab. tom. 6. 1280. B.

^a Justin. M. Apol. II. p. 97. E. "They give to every one that is present to receive of that which is consecrated." So p. 98. E.: "The giving and receiving of the consecrated things is to every one."

Apost. Constit. VIII. 13 Concil. ed. Lab. tom. 1. 483. E. "The bishop receives, and then the priests, &c., and then all the people in order." Again, 485. A.: "Let the thirty-third Psalm be said while all the rest are receiving; and when all the men and all the women have received, let the deacons take what is left," &c. The same may be observed in all the ancient liturgies.

^b Chrysost. in Ephes. serm. 3. tom. 3. 778. 26. "Ye hear proclamation made, as many as are in penance be gone. As many as do not receive are in penance."

Ibid. p. 779. 3. "How is it that you tarry, and do not partake of the table? You are unworthy, you say; then you are so of communion in prayer. Your eyes are unworthy of these sights, and your ears are unworthy," &c.

Ibid. line 13. "It is no more lawful for you to be here, than for one that is not christened."

^c Apostol. can. 9. Repeated and explained by the Council of Antioch, can. 2. Concil. edit. Lab. tom. 2. p. 561. D. "That all that come to church and hear the Holy Scriptures, but do not join in prayer with the people, or decline the receiving of the eucharist, therein doing disorderly; these must be cast out of the church," — by excommunication.

Greg. I. Dialog. II. c. 23. At mass, "according to the custom, the deacon cried, If any one do not receive, let him give place."

Gratian. Decret. de Consecr. dist. 1. c. 59.; and more at large, dist. 2. c. 10. Peracta. "After the consecration, let all receive that will not be put out of the church; for so it was ordained by the Apostles, and is held by the holy Roman Church." On which words the Gloss tells us, "Thus it was anciently, but now every one is left to do as he pleases."

^d Bellarmin, de Missa. 2. c. 9. Tertia, saith, "We read nowhere expressly that the ancients offered the sacrifice without the communion of some one or more beside the priest; yet we may easily gather it by conjectures." His first conjecture is from a canon of the Council of Nantes, which is not to be found but in Ivo after the year 1100. His second is

Sure enough, in the Apostles' Church, as oft as they met to worship God, they "all did eat of that one bread" (1 Cor. x. 17.); and they "all were made to drink into one Spirit." 1 Cor. xii. 13.

And whereas of this last, our Saviour having said to his disciples, who were then laymen, "Drink ye all of it^a," St. Mark takes particular notice that "they all drank of it^b;" which practice (we see) was followed in the Apostolic Church.^c The Roman Church will let her laity drink none of it^d; none of the "cup of

from that canon which teaches plainly the contrary, and which therefore I quoted in note c. The rest are such weak colours for the justifying of this practice, that he might better have only gone about to excuse it, as he does cap. 10. Septima, by saying, "That now oftentimes the priest alone eats the sacrifice; it is no fault of the priests, or the nature of the sacrifice, but the negligence of the people." But he seems to have forgot that at some masses the Church does not require the presence of the people.

^a Matt. xxvi. 27.

^b Mark, xiv. 23.

^c 1 Cor. x. 21.: "Ye drink the cup of the Lord;" and xi. 26, 27, 28.: "Ye eat this bread, and drink this cup;" and 12, 13.: "We have been all made to drink." So Justin M., Apol. II. p. 97. E. and 98. E., declares the manner of those times, that every one of the people that were present at the sacrament did receive it in both kinds.

^d It appears that this manner was continued in following ages: it does not appear that it was changed in any church, till that doctrine came in which requires men to disbelieve their senses. This being hard to do in that part of the sacrament, the cup was taken away by degrees in these Western churches.

The first that wrote for this use (as far as I can find) was Gislebertus, that lived about the year 1100. Aquinas, that lived about one hundred and fifty years after, says, that then this new manner was "providently observed in some churches." Summ. part. 3. q. 80. art. 12. in Corp. After one hundred and fifty years more was the Council of Constance, which enjoined it to all; and that with a bold *non obstante* to all that Christ had said or done to the contrary. For thus the Decree, sess. 13. Concil. ed. Lab., tom. 12. 100. B. C.: "Though Christ administered this sacrament to his disciples in both kinds, of bread and wine, yet, notwithstanding this, the approved custom of the Church is otherwise. And though in the primitive Church this sacrament was then received by the faithful in both kinds, yet this custom was brought up with good reason: for the avoiding of some perils and scandals." &c. It seems

blessing which we bless ;” but the cup of unblest wine, the ablution, as they call it : a trick which was brought up in those corrupt ignorant times, I know not why, if not on purpose to deceive the people, that they may not miss the wine, though they have none of the blessing. So far they are removed from the original Church in her sacraments.

Lastly, for the worship of God, here called the Apostles’ prayers, there are many things in the Roman Church, whereof some were forbidden by the Apostles and others cannot consist with their doctrine.

The chief part of her worship is the sacrifice of the mass, and that is declared, in the creed before mentioned, to be “ a true, proper, propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead.”

This horrible affront of Christ’s sacrifice^a, and also of his sacrament together^b, was brought in upon

^a It makes the sacrifice of Christ as much lower in value, as oftener offered than the Levitical sacrifices. For the reason of being often offered was because of their insufficiency “ to take away sin.” Heb. x. 11. Had Christ’s sacrifice been like theirs, “ he must often have suffered.” Heb. ix. 25, 26. “ He must have oftentimes offered the sacrifice,” (Heb. x. 11.) as they say he doth at every mass in the Roman Church. But this “ he needed not ;” Christ’s once was enough. Heb. x. 27., and ix. 12. 26. 28., and x. 10. “ He offered one sacrifice for ever,” (Heb. x. 12.) “ and by that one offering he hath perfected ever them that are sanctified ;” (v. 14.) so that “ there is no more offering for sin,” (v. 18.) no more true proper propitiatory sacrifice.

^b The sacrament of the Lord’s supper was ordained for the remembrance and representation of the propitiatory sacrifice of Christ, offered or made by every believer. He “ takes, eats, drinks ;” he does this in remembrance of Christ,” Luke, xxii. 19. ; and so doth “ showeth forth the death of Christ,” (1 Cor. xi. 26.) and applieth to himself Christ’s “ body broken,” and his “ blood shed” for us. There is with it an eucharistical sacrifice : that is, before the sacrament, an oblation solemnly presented to God ; in, and after it, a spiritual sacrifice of prayer and thanksgiving, an offering of ourselves, souls and bodies. In this every Christian is a priest. 1 Pet. ii. 5. The manner of it is described in the old Roman Missal, set forth by Pamelius : After

back of the doctrine of the corporeal presence. When, according to that doctrine, the priest hath made Christ, then he is as full him of as something as bad; for they pretend to sacrifice him to God.^a

Else this is done the divines of that church are not yet arrived.^b It were well if, at least, they could tell why they do so. For they had need, for such a sacrifice, to have a clear institution from God. But they cannot pretend to that. There is nothing clearly for it in all the texts that they bring out of Scripture. This they were said to do at the Council of Trent^c; and

reading of the Gospel: the offertory is sung, and the oblations are offered by the people: out of which bread and wine are set upon the altar to be consecrated; and the prayer is said over the oblations. After this the priest begins the canon of the mass, and said the commendation in these words: "Remember, Lord, all here present, who offer to thee this sacrifice of praise for themselves and all theirs." *Memorandum Sacre Gregor. p. 2.* In those times, men saw the oblations to which those words did refer; but afterward, when there was no more such offering, and no more breaking of bread, but a wafer to be offered by the priest for the people, then the ancient form was improper, and therefore they altered it thus: "Remember, Lord, all here present, for whom we offer to thee," &c. So it stands now in the Roman Missal; where all the other prayers, which were designed for the eucharist, are misapplied to the new propitiatory sacrifice; and yet still they continue these following words of the prayer after the diptychs: "Through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom thou, O Lord, createst all these things, always good, &c., and givest them to us." This they say over the wafer and wine after consecration. Of the "creatures of bread and wine," see the end of page 47. [of page 483. in this edition].

^a Bell., de Missa. lib. 1. cap. 2. secundò, saith, "All things whatsoever that are called sacrifices in Scripture, were of necessity to be destroyed; and that by killing them, if they were living things; if without life, by burning them," &c.

^b Bell. de Missa. lib. 1. cap. 27. the whole chapter. "Whether by oblation, or consecration, or manducation," &c.

^c 1562. Jul. 24. Padre Paolo saith Ataide, Cardinal Palavicino saith Forero, showed, "that the sacrifice of the mass cannot be proved from Scripture alone, without tradition;" particularly, "that it cannot be proved from Christ's words at the last supper, but by the uniform expo-

others since have acknowledged it.^a They pretend, indeed, that it is clear in the tradition of the fathers. But for the fathers that received the Scripture from the Apostles, it is evident that they could not find any such thing in it.^b Nor could any of them that lived in

The truth is, the ancient fathers did not so understand our Saviour's words, nor, perhaps, did many of the Trent fathers themselves; for when the question was put, whether Christ at the last supper offered himself for a propitiatory sacrifice, it held both the divines and bishops in long dispute, saith Card. Pallavicino, xvii. 13. 11, &c. It was alleged, on the one hand, that if that at the last supper was a true propitiatory sacrifice, then that upon the cross could be only in remembrance of this: and, on the other hand, if it was not such a sacrifice, then there was no such sacrifice instituted by Christ; for the words of institution (*hoc facite*) could refer to nothing else but to what was done then and there. I have showed that they refer to those words: "Take, eat, drink," and were spoken to the disciples as communicants, and no otherwise. After much time and heat, at last the doctrine was set down in these words: "That at the last supper Christ offered himself for a sacrifice," without saying whether propitiatory or eucharistical; but neither did this satisfy, saith Cardinal Pallavicino, xviii. 9. 3.

^a Suarez, in *Tertiam Aquin.* disp. 41. art. 1. *Secundó*, potest. saith, "In the New Testament, there are no convincing testimonies to prove that there is a true proper sacrifice under the Gospel."

^b None before Justin Martyr speaks of sacrifice among Christians, unless Clemens Romanus, in his *Epist. ad Cor.* § 36., where he calls Christ "the High-priest of our offerings." But he speaks only of the sacrifice of praise, and contrite hearts. *Ibid.* and § 52.

But for Justin, in his book against Tryphon, p. 344. C., he proves that we are all a holy priesthood, because God accepts none but priests; and yet all that offer the sacrifices which Christ delivered in the eucharist, or blessing of bread and wine, are accepted of God. And whereas the Jews say, that, since they have no temple, now their prayers are their sacrifice; so, saith he, I say, that prayers and thanksgivings, offered by them that are worthy, are the only perfect sacrifices and acceptable to God: for Christians have learned to offer these things only, and that even in commemoration of that food in which there is a remembrance of the passion of Christ.

The next father was Irenæus, who, writing *adversus Hæreses*, lib. 4. cap. 32. and 34., sheweth, that in the oblation at the eucharist, those things which were offered to God according to the custom of those times, were no other than "his own creatures of bread and wine:" see the end of page 45. [page 432. of this edition]; and concludes, that "our altar is in heaven; for thither it is that we send up our prayers and oblations:" which last words, being taken into the canon of the Roman mass, remain there for a testimony against their new doctrine.

the first six hundred years.^a Nay, they were to seek for it that lived above a thousand years after the Apostles' times.^b

Some, indeed, of the ancients have spoke of an unbloody sacrifice^c, and that offered by every Christian^d; as well without the sacrament as with it. But as they always denied any more bloody sacrifice, so little did they think of an unbloody to take away sin, and that such as none could offer but the priest. How much less, that Christ himself must be that sacrifice; nay, must come from heaven both to offer and to be offered; and that upon such pitiful, small, or needless occasions!

^a Euseb. demonstr. Evang. lib. 1. cap. 10., edit. Paris. 1628. p.38. C. "Christ offered to God that eminent sacrifice for the salvation of us all, and delivered to us a memorial to offer to God continually instead of a sacrifice." Again, p. 39. A.: "We are taught to celebrate the memorial of that sacrifice [of Christ] on a table by the symbols of his body and blood." He goes on thus to the end of that chapter.

Austin. Epist. 23. tom. 2. p. 93. B. "Towards Easter, we say, 'Tomorrow is the Lord's passion,' though it was many years ago that he suffered, and that passion was but once. So on Easter-day, we say, 'To-day the Lord arose,' though so many years are passed since his resurrection. Why is no man such a fool, to say we lie when we speak thus, but because we name these days upon the account of their likeness to those days in which these things were done? Was not Christ but once offered in himself? and yet in the sacrament he is sacrificed by the people, not every Easter, but every [communion] day; and it is no lie, if, being asked, one should answer that Christ is sacrificed."

Chrysost. in Hebr. s. 17. p. 523. 15. "We offer not another sacrifice, as the high-priest did [among the Jews], but we offer always the same; nay, rather we make a remembrance of the sacrifice."

^b Pet. Lombard, Sent. lib. 4. dist. 12., puts the question, "Whether that which the priest doth, is called properly a sacrifice?" He answers, "That which is offered and consecrated by the priest is called a sacrifice and oblation, because it is a remembrance and representation of the true sacrifice on the cross."

Gratian, de Consecr. 2. dist. 2. c. 48. 51. 53, 54., is plain for the sacrifice, but seems to be against the "true proper propitiatory."

^c See Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. lib. 1. c. 10. p. 39, 40., where he explains it also of a contrite heart, and of praises and prayers. So in his Eccles. Hist. l. 10. c. 4. p. 386. D., and Life of Constantine, l. 4. c. 45.

^d Chrysost. in 2 Corin. v. 18. p. 647. 2. "In these things there is no

The most common pretence, not to mention any worse is to fetch a soul out of purgatory; which the priest to do for a small piece of silver. But they have other devices to do the same thing. Therefore, why must Christ come from heaven to earn this money, and be sent on these errands ten thousand times a day, and every time suffer as much as it cost him to redeem all mankind?^b This horrible mystery, unknown to former ages, was kept for times worthy of such a discovery; those dark dismal times that brought in the grossest errors of popery.

Other things in their worship are new and bad enough, though they do not come up to the monstrousness of this; namely, their prayer to angels, and to saints departed this life, and their prayer for souls in purgatory: which things together make up a great part of their offices in the Roman Church.

For the first of these, "prayer to angels;" we cannot say that there was no such thing in the Apostles' times; for an apostle, by mistake, was like to have used it^c, but was forbid by the angel to whom he

^a To allay a storm, to cure cattle, &c. See the Roman Missal.

^b Conc. Triden. sess. 22. cap. 2. "It is one and the same sacrifice with that which Christ offered on the cross, and differs only in the way of offering it."

^c Rev. xix. 10. St. John saith of the angel with whom he spoke, "I fell down to worship him; and he said to me, See thou do it not; I am thy fellow servant," &c.: "worship God." Again, Rev. xxii. 8, 9., the Apostle was like to have committed the same error, taking the angel for Christ, whom he represented, and in whose name he spoke (verse 13. and 16.), till he was better informed by the angel himself. For, saith Athanasius, Cont. Arianos, Orat. 3. p. 394. B., "Angels know that they are not of them that are to be worshipped, but of them that are to worship the Lord." The like is said by St. Austin, de Vera Relig. c. 55. tom. 1. p. 717. C.

offered worship. And another apostle writ^a purposely against it, as being a superstition that some would then have brought into the Church. But those instances sufficiently show that it could be no part of the Apostles' prayers.

For prayer to saints, as the Apostles have left no example, so they could have none before them, according to the doctrine of the now Roman Church.^b Nor is there any colour for it in Scripture^c, nor in the tra-

^a Coloss. ii. 18. "Let no man beguile you of your reward, in a voluntary humility; worshipping of angels, intruding into things he hath not seen." Whether it was that superstition of the Essenes, mentioned by Josephus, de Bell. Jud. xi. 7., or whether that of Simon Magus, serving angels, which was accounted a sort of idolatry, and condemned by St. Peter the Apostle, as Tertullian saith, de Præser. Hæret. c. 33. p. 245. B.

Chrysost., in Coloss. serm. 1. p. 90. 9., saith, "It was the chief design of that epistle to beat down the error of them that made addresses to God by the angels."

Ibid. serm. 5. p. 114. 14. He saith, "It was the devil that put it in their heads."

Ibid. serm. 6. p. 123. 27. "They said, we must come to God by his angels; and not [immediately] by Christ, for that is a thing too high for us."

"This error," saith Theodoret, in his comment on that text, "continued long among the people of Colossæ and of the adjacent countries; and for this cause a council, met at Laodicea, a city about twenty miles from Colossæ, made a law against praying to angels." It is the thirty-fifth canon of that council, that "no Christian shall leave the church, and go and name angels;" that is, call upon them in prayer, as all the scholiasts understand it, with Theodoret above mentioned: to do which thing, the council saith, is secret idolatry; a charge that so nearly touches them in the Roman Church, that, to avoid it, they have made no conscience of turning the word *angelos* into *angulos*, and the sense of the canon into nonsense, in their Latin editions of that council.

^b They hold that all that died before Christ were in *limbus patrum* till his resurrection, and therefore could not hear the prayers of the living. This is observed by Bellarm., de Sanct. Beat. 1. 19. Item Exod., who, therefore, as he pretends not to bring any text out of the New Testament, so might have spared those which he brings out of the Old Testament, to prove the invocation of saints in heaven, which is the thing in question.

^c Card. Perron Reliquæ V. 19. averreth that for prayer to saints

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dition of the Apostles' age.^a There are many things
both to the contrary^b.

But after some hundreds of years, when Christianity
was the established religion, and heathens came
droves into the Church, it is no wonder that
who in their Gentilism prayed to deified men, in
than to God, were apt to run into this superstition.
They were still for a religion that would affect
sense; and they found matter for it at the memory
of the martyrs; where, from the miracles that
wrought for the testimony of their faith, they took
casion to treat the saints as before they had done
heathen gods^c, and to address themselves to them

^a Card. Perron, Rep. V. 19. p. 871. He also granteth, "that
authors who lived next the times of the Apostles, there is not to be
any footstep of this." But he comforts himself, that in them there
"nothing repugnant, but all favourable to it:" of which see more
next note.

^b For Scripture. 1 Kings, viii. 39.: "Thou only knowest the
of all men." Psalm lxxv. 2.: "Thou that hearest prayer, to thee
flesh come." Matt. iv. 10.: "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God:
him only shalt thou serve." Christ also sheweth us this in his
pattern of prayer.

For the fathers of the Apostles' times, see Justin Martyr, before
p. 20. note *h*, *i* [p. 413. note *d*, *e*, of this edition]. The church
Smyrna, in their epistle concerning Polycarp's death, says, "It was
lunny of the Jews, who said that we would worship him after his
for we cannot leave Christ, nor can we worship any other; for we
him as being the Son of God: but for the martyrs, as being
ciples and followers of the Lord, we love them accordingly." Us
p. 27. Theophilus Antioch. ad Autol. I. p. 77. A.: "The king
allow any that bear office under him to be called kings; so neither
it lawful for any to be worshipped but God only." Tertullian
c. 4. p. 620.: "I am prescribed not to call any other, God;
adore nor to worship any other, in any manner whatsoever."

^c Austin, Confess. lib. 6. c. 2. tom. 1. p. 108. B., saith, "It
custom in Africa to bring potages and bread and wine to the memory
of the saints; and thus his mother Monica did till St. Ambrose
her for it. The like was done in other countries."
brought in out of heathenism."

those temporal benefits which they took to be conferred by their means.^a

It may seem strange that some of the fathers of the Church should give countenance to this popular error.^b But, however they complied with the weakness of the people, in hope to promote their zeal to religion; and perhaps they might have some other hypotheses of their own^c; yet they wrote things which could not consist with this worship.^d And some of the fathers wrote directly against it.^e They asserted to God the whole duty of worship.^f They owned no other mediator

^a Austin, *Serm. de Sanctis*, 47. "We expect by their intercession to receive of the Lord temporal benefits." It is in the Roman Breviary, the fourth lesson in Commune Plurim. Mart. extra temp. Pasch.

^b Some of the fathers, as Nazianzen, &c., used those rhetorical or poetical strains, which sounded like formal prayers; but they were not so intended, as appears by his calling upon saints, with these additions: "If you have any sense, or if you have any care of our matters:" which plainly sheweth that he spoke in imitation of the heathen orators and poets, or of the academic philosophers, who held nothing certain concerning the state of departed souls. Greg. Naz. in Gorgoniam, and Stelit. 1.

^c Basil and Austin have some taste of that Platonic opinion, that souls hover about those places where their bodies, or any part of them, is laid; and hence they thought that the souls of the martyrs might be present to hear and to despatch those suits that were made at their memories. Basil, of St. Mamas, tom. 1, p. 595. D. Aug. de Cura pro Mort. c. 16. tom. 4. p. 892. B.

^d St. Austin, de Verâ Religione, c. 55. tom. 1. p. 716. C., says, "The worship of dead men should be no part of our religion. If they have lived piously, they are to be honoured for imitation, not to be worshipped for religion."

^e Epiphan. Hær. 79. cap. 5. "Neither is Elias to be worshipped, though he is among the living; nor is John to be worshipped; nor is Tecla, nor any of the saints worshipped." And cap. 7.: "Though Mary was a most excellent person, and holy, and honoured, yet not so as to be worshipped."

^f Greg. Nyssen. Cont. Eunom. Or. 4. edit. Paris, 1635, tom. 2. p. 146. B. "We are taught to consider every creature as being without the divine nature, and to worship and adore that nature only which is not created."

Aug. de Quant. Animæ c. 94. tom. 1. p. 502. C. "It is divinely

but Christ.^a This they all acknowledged to be the sense of the Catholic Church.^b

But the darker times grew, the more that error prevailed. The people led their guides, and tolled them on with worldly advantage, who repaid them with lying wonders and visions^c to confirm them in their error. At last, by poetry, it got into the offices of the Church.^d And yet then they had no doctrine sufficient to bear it. A thousand years after Christ^e they were not sure that the saints heard their prayers, or that the saints are in heaven^f, which is the very foundation of their worship. Their very prayers taught them the contrary.^g And

^a Aug. in Psalm lxvi. tom. 8. p. 661. B. "He alone, of them that have worn flesh, there within the veil makes intercession for us."

Ibid. cont. Parmen. l. 2. c. 8. tom. 7. p. 32. B. "He who intercedes for all, and none for him, is the only and true Mediator."

^b That this is not the sense of the now Roman Church, appears by the Index Expurgatorius, ed. Madrit, 1667, which, on those words of Nyssen, note *f* bids strike out the word "only." P. 146. col. 1. from the Index of Epiphanius, bids strike out those words, "that no creature is to be worshipped;" and also those, "that saints are not to be worshipped:" p. 547. col. 1. and 2. And from the Index of St. Austin, strike out those words, "that only God is to be worshipped;" and also those, "that saints are to be honoured, and not worshipped:" p. 56. col. 2. and p. 57. col. 2. We may be sure that what they dislike is not their own doctrine.

^c Bellarm., de Sanct. Beat. l. 19., "probatur quinto," shows how it was proved by visions and miracles.

^d By hymns and antiphons.

^e Gratian. Decr. 2. caus. 13. q. 2. c. 29. The case has his sense in these words: "Gratian moves the question, whether they that are departed this life know what is done here by the living? And he answereth, that they do not."

Lombard, Sent. l. 4. c. 45., "sed forte," puts the question, "whether saints hear the prayers of their petitioners?" And he answereth, "that it is not incredible that they do." This was far enough from a certainty.

^f Conc. Trent. sess. ult. founds this worship on this doctrine, "That the saints are in heaven, and reign with Christ." "This is the foundation of all," saith Bellarmin, de Sanct. Beat. in præf. "For therefore the souls of the prophets and patriarchs were not so worshipped and called upon, as we now worship and call upon the apostles and martyrs, because they were yet kept shut up in the infernal prisons."

^g Now, that all deceased Christians are shut up in like manner (the

therefore they that came after altered them in some places. But yet still there is enough left in the mass book^a to show them how far they are removed from the old Roman Church.

The prayers for souls in purgatory could be no ancienter than the doctrine of purgatory was. And therefore, having shown that the Apostles had no such doctrine^b, I need not prove that these were none of their prayers. But if they prayed for the dead on any other

saints not excepted), was the doctrine of the old Roman Church. For thus she prayed: "Lord, remember all thy servants and all thy handmaids, who have gone before us with the sign of faith, and who sleep the sleep of peace. Grant to all that rest in Christ a place of refreshing, and of light and peace, we humbly beseech thee." Liturg. Gregor. in Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. tom. 2. p. 129. C.

^a Therefore, also, in their masses for any bishop that died, they prayed thus: "Grant, O Lord, that this oblation may profit the soul of thy servant and bishop, such a one." Gregor. Sacram. super Oblata, edit. Menardi, p. 227., and edit. Pamelii, p. 386. And thus they prayed yearly for Pope Leo I., on his day, June 28., as appears in edit. Menardi, p. 112.; and thus for Pope Gregory I., on his day, March 12., as appears in edit. Pamelii, p. 209.

But in the now Roman Missal, all these prayers are changed; and great reason they should be so, when the Church has changed her doctrine. For as the Gloss saith of Leo, "Anciently the Church prayed for him, but now he prayeth for us, and so the church office was changed." Gregor. Decr. III. 41. 6. Tertio Loco. Therefore, now the prayer on those saints' days is thus: "Grant, Lord, that this oblation may profit us by the intercession of thy servant Leo, or Gregory;" and yet, in the office *pro defunctis*, and that as well for any other as for a bishop, the words are still, what they used for those saints in former times, "Grant, O Lord, that this oblation may profit the soul of thy servant" such a one.

And for that prayer above mentioned, in Canon Missæ Commem. *pro defunctis*, they first left out those words, "All thy servants and all thy handmaids," and prayed thus: "Lord, remember them who have gone before us," as it standeth in ed. Pamelii, p. 182.; but the word "them" extending to saints as well as others, they altered it again, "Remember, Lord, thy servants and handmaids N. and N. who are gone before us;" but still the end of that prayer remains as it was, "Grant all that rest in Christ a place of refreshing, and of light and peace, we humbly beseech thee." They that made this prayer did not believe that the saints were already in heaven; and therefore they knew not the foundation of those

account^a, it doth not concern the now Roman Church ; for she pretends not to pray for any dead, but for them that are in purgatory.^b

And yet, to do her right, she hath not one prayer expressly for them in all her offices for the dead.^c The reason is, because those offices were made before that fiction was generally believed. The offices were fitted to those doctrines^d which were then in the Roman Church, which, as I have shown^e, were much different from what she hath now. So, where their doctrines were doubtful, there the prayers are in ambiguous terms.^f

^a 2 Tim. i. 18. St. Paul prays for Onesiphorus, "The Lord grant unto him that he may find mercy of the Lord in that day ;" that is, at the day of judgment. He might well be living when St. Paul made that prayer.

^b Conc. Trent. sess. 25. "That the souls which are kept there in purgatory are profited by the prayers of the faithful."

Bellarmin. de Purg. lib. 2. c. 38. "It is certain that the prayers of the Church do not profit the blessed, nor the damned, but only them that live in purgatory."

Azor., Instit. Moral. tom. 1. lib. 8. c. 20., "neque vero," saith, "The Greeks pray for the dead ; but certainly neither for the blessed nor for the damned, which were plainly absurd and impious."

The truth is, the Greeks prayed for the blessed, even for the Virgin Mary and the Apostles ; and so did the ancient Roman Church, in those offices which the present Roman Church hath both corrupted and mis-applied.

^c In the mass for the dead, there is not the name of purgatory, nor it doth not appear that the Church thought of any such thing. The hymn is wholly of the day of judgment. The prayers are for deliverance at that day ; and if they are for anything else, it is nothing but what is asked for all the faithful as much as for any person. The lessons and sequences are all concerning the resurrection. There is not among them one text of those many that are brought for the proof of purgatory, except only 2 Mac. xii. 43., which, according to the Roman doctrine, should be rather for *limbus* than for purgatory ; but, indeed, it relates to neither, but (as the office intends it) to the resurrection.

^d They are agreeable enough to several of those opinions concerning the state of souls, which are mentioned before, p. 29. note *a* [p. 419. note *e* of this edition.]

^e See p. 55, 56. [p. 439, 440. of this edition].

^f Miss. pro defunct. Offertorium. "Lord Jesus, deliver the souls of all faithful deceased from the pains of hell, that they may not fall into

But they are plain enough in that which is of faith; that is, where they pray^a, as we do, for a blessed resurrection.

But because that is assured to all that die in Christ, whether in a perfect or imperfect estate; and men will not buy prayers for that which will come without asking; therefore, to get their money, there was no better way than to persuade them that their friends might be fetched out of purgatory, or might be eased in it, by such prayers as were then used in the Church. There might have been new prayers made for the purpose: but, as bad as times were, in that darkness of popery, some would have declared against such a gross innovation. Therefore it was thought enough to keep the old prayers, and get the Church to interpret them, as she hath done^b sufficiently to show her own novelty in this matter.

darkness; but that the standard-bearer, St. Michael, may carry them into eternal light."

Ibid. the prayer in the obits. "We pray thee, for the soul of thy servant N., that thou wouldst not deliver it into the hands of the enemy, nor forget it for ever; but command it to be received by thy holy angels, and be led to the land of the living, that he may come to rejoice in the society of thy saints." So Miss. Sarum.: "That he may not suffer eternal pains, but possess eternal joys." So the old Roman; but the new has changed eternal into infernal, as being more for the sense of the present Church.

^a Ibid. Tractus. "Absolve, O Lord, the souls of all the faithful deceased from every bond of their sins, and by the aid of thy grace, let them obtain to escape the judgment of vengeance, and to enjoy the blessedness of eternal light."

Ibid. Post-communion among the diverse prayers. "Absolve, O Lord, the soul of this thy servant from every bond of his sins, that, in the glory of the resurrection, he being raised again, may have refreshment among thy saints and chosen ones."

^b Counc. Trent. sess. 25. decr. Of purgatory. "Let the bishops take care that the suffrages of the living faithful, viz. the sacrifices of masses and prayers, &c., which have been usually made for the faithful

pray with the understanding also." Again, verse 16.: "How shall he that stands in the room of the unlearned say Amen at thy giving of thanks? seeing he understands not what thou sayest." Again, verse 9.: "In the church I had rather speak five words with my understanding, that by my voice I might teach others also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue." These are plain texts of Scripture, which the Roman Church, evidently transgressing, does wisely, no doubt, to keep the Scriptures from the reading or understanding of her people. For, otherwise, it could be no great comfort to them to find how directly she goes against as well the precepts as the practice of the Apostles.

I have shown that she doth it, not only in one or a few instances, but in many, and those of the greatest note, — in all the notes that the Apostles have given us of a true Christian Church.

Having given this account of her that calls herself the Catholic Church, — having shown how far she is removed from this Church in my text, — I shall not pass any judgment upon her, as she peremptorily doth upon others, damning all that are not of her communion: better leave that to God, and they will find so at the last day. Only, being as she is, I think we have all reason to beware of her; to thank God that we are at this distance from her; to bless her for her curses^a, that

^a Gunpowder Treason, edit. 1679. p. 109. "For from the year Eliz. 1. unto 11. all papists came to our church and service without scruple. But when once the bull of Pope Pius Quintus was come and published, wherein the queen was accursed and deposed, and her subjects discharged of their obedience and oath, yea, cursed if they did obey her,

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have caused that distance; to pray for her children, that they may be purged from their sins and till then, to watch and pray for ourselves; put it, at least, in our private litany (it shall be in mine), "From Popery, good Lord deliver us."

Let us next consider our own church: and say our own, I know you all understand me, that of the Church of England in the first place, representative of all other reformed churches. As I say, — if any church which holds the same doctrine which retains the same government, which partakes of the same sacraments and the same worship of God as did in the Apostles' times, be a true apostolic church, we are bound to bless God, who hath placed us in it; who hath made us members of such a church which hath all those characters so entire and so visible.

First, for doctrine: we profess to believe the Scriptures^a, which, I have shown^b, have been thought to contain the whole doctrine of the Christian religion. We acknowledge for canonical Scriptures not more than all those books^c whose authority is not doubted in the Church. We profess the same doctrine and no more, than all Christians have professed; namely^d, that which is briefly comprised in the Apostles' Creed^e, explained in the creeds of Nicaea^f and that of Athanasius, and proved

^a Thirty-nine Articles, art. 6.

^b See p. 10. note a, &c. [p. 404, 405. of this edition.]

^c Ibid. art. 6.; and this is proved in Bishop Cousin's book of the Scripture.

^d Art. 8.

^e Office of baptism. "Wilt thou be baptized in this faith?"

^f This alone was enough to make one a Catholic, i.

9. p. 109. "For from
to our church and service
Pope Pius Quintus was
cursed and deposed, and he
is, yea, cursed if they did
church, then would they

article or point by the Holy Scriptures^a, taken in that sense which is both most evident in the words, and which hath been approved by the consent of the universal Church.

Secondly, for the government^b of our church: as to the constitution of it, it is according to the Scripture rules and primitive patterns.

And for the exercise of it; it goes as far as the looseness of the age will bear. If this hath weakened the discipline^c of our church, we know the same looseness hath the same effect elsewhere, even in those churches of the Roman communion; and it had no less in the church of Corinth^d in the Apostles' times.

For the persons that are employed in the ministry^e: they are such as are lawfully called to it; they are consecrated and ordained for that purpose, and that according to the Scripture and canons of the universal Church. They are such as "wholly attend on this very thing," in the Apostle's words.^f And for our Church of England, I may add, without prejudice to any other, we can

the Christian emperors. Cod. Theodos. lib. 16. Edicta de Fide Catholicâ.

^a Canon, anno 1571. Of Preachers. "We are obliged, under pain of excommunication, to teach nothing but what is agreeable to the Old and New Testament, and what the Catholic fathers and ancient bishops have gathered out of that very doctrine." Stat. 1. Eliz. 1. "We judge all those things to be heresy which were declared so by the four general councils: therein following the judgment of the ancient Church." See Ælfric's Saxon Can. 33. "There were four councils for defence of the faith against heretics. There were many councils since that time, but these four were the most firm."

^b Art. 8.

^c See the Communion.

^d 1 Cor. i. 11, 12., and v. 2. &c.; and see Clemens' Epistle to the Corinthians.

^e Art. 23.. and offices of ordination

STATION OF THE BP. LLOYD.] CHIEF DOCTRINES OF POPERY.

H. by Scripture
 most evident
 ved by the com
 derive the succession of our bishops from the Ap
 as high as most churches can, even of them in the
 communion.

Thirdly, for our sacraments^b: we use the sam
 no other than those which Christ expressly left
 Church; I mean, which he both instituted and
 manded us to use; which can be said of no othe
 only baptism and the Lord's supper.

Lastly, for our public worship: we have ca
 bless God, that has given us such a liturgy; in
 according to all the measures we have of the Ap
 we can see nothing but what, as to the substan
 theirs; and our most malicious enemies can tell
 no other ill they see in it; but only this, that the
 of it are ours.

The ministration of this worship and of these
 ments is in a language understood by all those th
 concerned in them.^c They all say Amen^d to
 prayers. It is performed with such rites^e as ar
 against the word of God, but are agreeable to it;
 only for "order and decency."^f And we use t
 not as necessary in themselves, but in obedience
 authority which every church hath over its own
 bers.

We do, according to St. Cyprian's rule^h, "co
 or judge no other church." We separate from
 any otherwise than by purging ourselvesⁱ from

^a Mason, *ibid.*; and Bramhall, of succession.

^c Art. 24.

^d 1 Cor. xiv. 16.

^e 1 Cor. xiv. 40.

^f Art. 34., and prefaces t

^h Cyprian, *Epist.* 72. p. 151., and *Cons. Carth*
 p. 353.

ⁱ Anno 1603. can. 30., the Church of Englat

^b Art.

codos. lib. 16. *Edicta de*

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 and see Clement's *Epist.*

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things which we believe to be corruptions and errors: to which end several of those articles were framed, to be subscribed by our own clergy, without imposing them on any other.

In all these respects our church holds a communion, or hath done nothing to break it, with any other national church; no, not with those of the Roman communion; and is not only (what they deny) a true member, but (what they are not) a sound member, of that one Holy Catholic Church, which was from the beginning, and which will be to the end of the world.

The last thing is, having proved we have a true church, to persuade you, first, to continue in it steadfastly; and secondly, in the belief and practice of those things by which it appears to be a true church; and lastly, to profit by them; and so to adorn our holy religion with a holy and good conversation.

First, to persuade you to continue steadfastly in this church; it is enough, if you are convinced that you cannot mend yourselves by any change.

Who would not desire to continue where he is well? Who would not stick to that which is the best he can choose? Who would needlessly run the danger of any loss? especially of losing himself, which is the greatest loss that is possible? And yet that we have reason to expect from the just indignation of God, if we shall reject the great benefit that he hath given us, to be

was so far from being willing to depart from the churches of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, &c., in all things that she knew they held and observed, that she dissented from those churches in those articles only in which they first fell away. both from their own former integrity. and

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which they had their origin

born in the womb and bred up in the bosom of such church.

No doubt you hear, (for who does not?) on every side the voices of them that would allure you, or would threaten you out of it. But, whatsoever they say, remember what the philosopher made the first part of wisdom: *μὴ μνησο ἀπιστεῖν*. Do not believe all that is said. Remember how our Saviour forewarned, "If I tell you, Christ is here, or Christ is there, believe me not."^a If antiquity be pretended on the one hand, large boasts of purity on the other, — many fine things are said, — believe them not. And if many have been seduced by these means, let them answer for themselves; you had best to look before you follow them. If many have fallen off from our church, so did many from Christ. But some were wiser, and considered that they should get by it. They said, "Whither shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life."^b If our church has but that, whatever she wants else, it will be our wisest way to continue in it.

But then, secondly, you are to continue in the characters by which it appears to be a true church; and to exercise your communion in all the acts that belong to these characters; namely, "in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in the sacraments, and in prayer."

First for doctrine: "Hold fast the form of sound words which you have received."^c "Contend earnestly for the faith that was once delivered to the saints." Seek it not in muddy streams, but in the living fountain of Scripture. "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God."

^a Matt. xxiv. 23. Mark, xiii. 21.
^c 2 Tim. i. 13.

^b John, vi. 68.
^d Jude, 3.

from God ; and is enough to make the man of God perfect, and thoroughly furnished to every good work.”^a It is sufficient to make us “wise to salvation”^b; so that if we mind only that, we have no need of any other; and yet we would refuse no other that could be made out, as this is, to be the doctrine of the Apostles of Christ.

Secondly, as to the Apostles’ fellowship, we have heard it is continued in the bishops their successors. Therefore we ought to take heed how we break communion with them. We are both to acknowledge and make use of their ministry ; to obey them in spiritual things, as being those that “must give account for our souls.”^c

Thirdly, for the sacraments and worship of God: “forsake not the assembling of yourselves together”^d, nor run into separate meetings, “as the manner of some is.” Some will always be straggling: we cannot help what they do ; and what they do among themselves we do not inquire. They that are of the Catholic and Apostolic Church, will be only for the Catholic and Apostolic sacraments ; namely, for those which Christ himself instituted in his Church : baptism, by which we are “planted into Christ’s death”^e; and the Lord’s supper, in which we keep up the remembrance of it “till he comes.”^f We have also the same worship of God which was in the Apostles’ times, and which hath been ever since in the Church. They who are now saints in heaven, while they were upon earth prayed to no other

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cuse us: we do as they did; and we do it
assurance that the same worship which they use
bring us, as it did them, to be saints in heaven
we continue in it.

Lastly, continuing in the Church, and in
characters of it, our business is to profit by all
"to grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our
Jesus Christ."^a

Apostles' letters
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It concerns us, not only to be in a true church
to see that we ourselves are true Christians; and
can no otherwise appear than in the likeness of
in righteousness and holiness of life, Without
though you be of a true church, you will not
long, or you will be so to no purpose. A wicked
will, in time, eat out all the sense of religion:
more sense one hath, he will find the less comfort
ours. Our religion hath no comfort for him that
will be wicked. Our religion hath no purgatory
keep him from hell. Our religion can make
pennyworths of heaven. Our religion hath no
for sin, but on repentance; no repentance, but
amendment of life. He that cannot come
alas! what does he in our religion? As it cannot
knows it, but be uneasy to him, so he will make
unworthy of it. He will provoke God to deprive
of the benefit. And it is all one which way he
him; whether by letting him now run out of the
or whether by shutting him out of heaven at last.
For that it will come to, when all is done: with-
ness there is no coming thither. "Without
no man shall see the Lord."^b None shall; if

^a 2 Pet. iii. 18.

^b Heb. xii. 14

that, not you in particular: and then what will your religion signify? Though your church hath all that the Apostles' church had, what good will this do you, if you perish in it? Though your ship will go its voyage, what is that to you, if you die of a surfeit by the way? Though you have the true doctrine, communion, sacraments, and prayers, what comfort will all this give you in that terrible day? Yea, what horror will it be, that, being placed well by God, you are fallen from it — you have lost, you have thrown away that great blessing that he had given you?

“Beloved, we hope better things of you, and things that accompany salvation, though we thus speak.”^a

I hope, and therefore pray, that all that hear me this day may be the better for being of such a church. God intended we should. He has dealt exceeding graciously with us; but yet he expects that we should do something for ourselves; that, considering the opportunity that is put in our hands, — seeing how near God has brought us to the kingdom of heaven, — seeing nothing but our own sins between us and it, — (should that sight make us fly out, and seek other ways? ways that God never made nor will bless? Nay, rather) we should break through our sins, and go the way that he calls us in his word. There can be no better, there is no other, than this.

So, performing his design, pursuing the ends of our calling, living suitably to our excellent religion, we are indeed the followers of the Apostles in this life, and

CONFUTATION OF POPE.

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THE THIRTIETH OF JANUAR

KING CHARLES THE MARTYR TO THE PRINCE
OF WALES.

ἘΠΙΘὺΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚῆ.

SON, if these papers, with some others, wherein I have set down the private reflections of my conscience, and my most impartial thoughts, touching the chief passages which have been most remarkable or disputed in my late troubles, come to your hands, to whom they are chiefly designed; they may be so far useful to you, as to state your judgment aright in what hath passed, whereof a pious is the best use can be made; and they may also give you some directions how to remedy the present distempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to come.

It is some kind of deceiving and lessening the injury of my long restraint, when I find my leisure and solitude have produced something worthy of myself, and useful to you; that neither you, nor any other, may hereafter measure my cause by the success, nor my judgment of things by my misfortunes; which I count the greater by far, because they have so far lighted upon you, and some others, whom I have most cause to love as well as myself, and of whose unmerited sufferings I have a greater sense than of mine own.

But this advantage of wisdom you have above most

princes ; that you have begun, and now spent some years of discretion, in the experience of troubles and exercise of patience, wherein piety and all virtues, both moral and political, are commonly better planted to a thriving, as trees set in winter, than in warmth and serenity of times ; or amidst those delights which usually attend princes' courts in times of peace and plenty ; which are prone, either to root up all plants of true virtue and honour, or to be contented only with some leaves, and withering formalities of them, without any real fruits, such as tend to the public good, for which princes should always remember they are born, and by Providence designed.

The evidence of which different education the Holy Writ affords us in the contemplation of David and Rehoboam : the one prepared by many afflictions for a flourishing kingdom, the other softened by the unparalleled prosperity of Solomon's court, and so corrupted to the great diminution, both for peace, honour, and kingdom, by those flatteries, which are as unseparable from prosperous princes, as flies are from fruit in summer, whom adversity, like cold weather, drives away.

I had rather you should be Charles le Bon, than le Grand ; good, than great : I hope God hath designed you to be both, having so early put you into that exercise of his graces and gifts bestowed upon you, which may best weed out all vicious inclinations, and dispose you to those princely endowments and employments

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With God I would have you begin and end, wh
King of kings, the Sovereign Disposer of the kingd
of the world, who pulleth down one and setteth
another.

The best government and highest sovereignty
can attain to is to be subject to him, that the sco
of his Word and Spirit may rule in your heart.

The true glory of princes consists in advancing
glory in the maintenance of true religion, and
Church's good; also in the dispensation of civil p
with justice and honour to the public peace.

Piety will make you prosperous; at least it wil
you from being miserable; nor is he much a lose
loseth all, yet saveth his own soul at last.

To which centre of true happiness, God (I
hath, and will graciously direct all these black
affliction which he hath been pleased to draw
and by which he hath, I hope, drawn me ne
himself. You have already tasted of that cup
I have liberally drank, which I look upon a
physic, having that in healthfulness which it v
pleasure.

Above all, I would have you, as I hope
already, well-grounded and settled in your
the best profession of which I have ever este
of the Church of England, in which you h
educated; yet I would have your own judg
reason now seal to that sacred bond which educ
written, that it may be judiciously your own re
not other men's custom or tradition, which

In this I charge you to persevere,

to God's word for doctrine, and to the primitive examples for government, with some little amendment, which I have elsewhere expressed, and often offered, though in vain. Your fixation in matters of religion will not be more necessary for your soul's than your kingdoms' peace, when God shall bring you to them.

For I have observed that the devil of rebellion doth commonly turn himself into an angel of reformation; and the old serpent can pretend new lights: when some men's consciences accuse them for sedition and faction, they stop its mouth with the name and noise of religion; when piety pleads for peace and patience, they cry out zeal.

So that, unless in this point you be well settled, you shall never want temptations to destroy you and yours, under pretensions of reforming matters of religion; for that seems, even to worst men, as the best and most auspicious beginning of their worst designs.

Where, besides the novelty, which is taking enough with the vulgar, every one hath an affectation, by seeming forward to an outward reformation of religion, to be thought zealous, hoping to cover those irreligious deformities whereto they are conscious, by a severity of censuring other men's opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting any factions, or applying to any public discriminations in matters of religion, contrary to what is in your judgment and the Church well settled; your partial adhering, as head, to any one side, gains you not so great advantages in some men's hearts (who are prone to be of their king's religion) as

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profession first despised, then persecuted, by you. Take such a course as may either, with calmness and charity quite remove the seeming differences and offences impartiality, or so order affairs in point of power, that you shall not need to fear or flatter any faction: for ever you stand in need of them, or must stand to the courtesy, you are undone; the serpent will devour the dove; you may never expect less of loyalty, justice, humanity, than from those who engage into religious rebellion; their interest is always made God's; under the colours of piety, ambitious policies march, only with greatest security, but applause, as to the populace: you may hear from them Jacob's voice, you shall feel they have Esau's hands.

Nothing seemed less considerable than the Presbyterian faction in England for many years, so compliant they were to public order; nor, indeed, was their power great either in Church or State, as to men's judgment but as soon as discontents drove men into seditious humours fall to the disaffected part, which catches inflammations), so did all at first, who affected novelties, adhere to that side, as the most remarkable and specious note of difference (then) in point of religion.

All the lesser factions, at first, were officious servants to Presbytery their great master, till time and military success, discovering to each their peculiar advantage, invited them to part stakes, and leaving the joint of uniform religion, pretended each to drive for party the trade of profits and preferments, to the breaking and undoing, not only of the Church

State, but even of Presbytery itself, which seemed and hoped at first to have engrossed all.

Let nothing seem little or despicable to you in matters which concern religion and the Church's peace, so as to neglect a speedy reforming and effectual suppressing errors and schisms, which seem at first but as a handbreadth, yet by seditious spirits, as by strong winds, are soon made to cover and darken the whole heaven.

When you have done justice to God, your own soul, and his Church, in the profession and preservation both of truth and unity in religion, the next main hinge on which your prosperity will depend and move, is that of civil justice, wherein the settled laws of these kingdoms, to which you are rightly heir, are the most excellent rules you can govern by, which, by an admirable temperament, give very much to subjects—industry, liberty, and happiness; and yet reserve enough to the majesty and prerogative of any king, who owns his people as subjects, not as slaves; whose subjection, as it preserves their property, peace, and safety, so it will never diminish your rights, nor their ingenuous liberties, which consist in the enjoyment of the fruits of their industry, and the benefit of those laws to which themselves have consented.

Never charge your head with such a crown as shall, by its heaviness, oppress the whole body, the weakness of whose parts cannot return any thing of strength, honour, or safety to the head, but a necessary debilitation and ruin.

In these two points, the preservation of established religion and laws, I may, without vanity, turn to reproach of my sufferings, as to the world's censures, the honour of a kind of martyrdom, as to the testimony of my own conscience; the troublers of my kingdom having nothing else to object against me but that I prefer religion and laws established before those innovations they propounded.

And so, indeed, I do, and ever shall, till I am convinced by better arguments than what hitherto have been chiefly used towards me,—tumults, arms, and prisons.

I cannot yet learn that lesson, nor I hope ever to you, that it is safe for a king to gratify any private passion with the perturbation of the laws, in which is contained the public interest, and the good of the commonwealth.

How God will deal with me, as to the removal of these pressures and indignities, which his justice has laid upon very unjust hands of some of my subjects, having pleased to lay upon me, I cannot tell; nor am I solicitous what wrong I suffer from men, while I am clear in my soul what I believe is right before God.

I have offered all for reformation and safety of the kingdom, reason, honour, and conscience I can; reserving only what I cannot consent unto, without an irreparable injury to my own soul, the Church, and my people, and to you also, as the next and undoubted heirs of these kingdoms.

To which, if the Divine Providence, to whom all our difficulties are insuperable, shall in his due time, by my decease, bring you, as I hope he will; my country

charge to you is, that you seriously consider the former real or objected miscarriages, which might occasion my troubles, that you may avoid them.

Never repose so much upon any man's single counsel, fidelity, and discretion, in managing affairs of the first magnitude (that is, matters of religion and justice), as to create in yourself or others a diffidence of your own judgment, which is likely to be always more constant and impartial to the interests of your crown and kingdom than any man's.

Next, beware of exasperating any factions by the crossness and asperity of some men's passions, humours, or private opinions, employed by you, grounded only upon the differences in lesser matters, which are but the skirts and suburbs of religion.

Wherein a charitable connivance and Christian toleration often dissipates their strength, when rougher opposition fortifies; and puts the despised and oppressed party into such combinations as may most enable them to get a full revenge on those they count their persecutors, who are commonly assisted by that vulgar commiseration which attends all that are said to suffer under the notion of religion.

Provided the differences amount not to an insolent opposition of laws and government or religion established, as to the essentials of them, such motions and minings are intolerable.

Always keep up solid piety, and those fundamental truths which mend both hearts and lives of men, with impartial favour and justice.

THE PRINCE OF WALES. [Εὐκὸν Βασιλική.] TO THE PRINCE OF WALES.

It is, that you seriously of religion devour not all or the best encouragement
of religion, industry, and piety; but with an equal
and impartial hand distribute favours and rewards
men, as you find them for their real goodness, b
abilities and fidelity, worthy and capable of them
This will be sure to gain you the hearts of th
and the most too; who, though they be not good
selves, yet are glad to see the severer ways of vi
any time sweetened by temporal rewards.
I have, you see, conflicted with different and o

factions (for so I must needs call and count al
that act not in any conformity to the laws esta
in Church and State): no sooner have they b
subdued what they counted their common enem
is, all those that adhered to the laws and to m
are secured from that fear, but they are divided
high a rivalry, as sets them more at defiance again
other than against their first antagonists.

Time will dissipate all factions, when once th
horns of private men's covetous and ambitious
shall discover themselves; which were at first
up and hidden under the soft and smooth preter
religion, reformation, and liberty: as the wolf is
cruel, so he will be more justly hated, when
appear no better than a wolf under sheep's clot

But as for the seduced train of the vulgar
their simplicity follow those disguises; my ch
counsel to you is, that, as you need no pallia
any designs (as other men), so that you study
exceed (in true and constant demonstrations of
piety, and virtue, towards the people) even

men that make the greatest noise and ostentations of religion ; so you shall neither fear any detection, as they do who have but the face and mask of goodness ; nor shall you frustrate the just expectations of your people, who cannot, in reason, promise themselves so much good from any subject's novelties, as from the virtuous constancy of their king.

When these mountains of congealed factions shall, by the sunshine of God's mercy and the splendour of your virtues, be thawed and dissipated ; and the abused vulgar should have learned that none are greater oppressors of their estates, liberties, and consciences, than those men that entitle themselves the patrons and vindicators of them only to usurp power over them ; let then no passion betray you to any study of revenge upon those whose own sin and folly will sufficiently punish them in due time.

But as soon as the forked arrow of factious emulations is drawn out, use all princely arts and clemency to heal the wounds, that the smart of the cure may not equal the anguish of the hurt.

I have offered acts of indemnity and oblivion to so great a latitude as may include all that can but suspect themselves to be any way obnoxious to the laws, and which might serve to exclude all future jealousies and insecurities.

I would have you always propense to the same way : whenever it shall be desired and accepted, let it be granted, not only as an act of state policy and necessity.

THE PRINCE OF WALES

Εἰκὼν Βασιλική.] TO THE PRINCE OF WALES.

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that have deprived me of all; and I thank God
a heart to do it, and joy as much in this grace
God hath given me as in all my former enjoyment
this is a greater argument of God's love to me than
prosperity can be.

Be confident (as I am) that the most of all sides
have done amiss, have done so; not out of malice
misinformation or misapprehension of things.

None will be more loyal and faithful to me
than those subjects who, sensible of their errors and
injuries, will feel, in their own souls, most vehement
motives to repentance, and earnest desires to make
reparations for their former defects.

As your quality sets you beyond any duel with
subject, so the nobleness of your mind must raise you
above the meditating any revenge, or executing
anger upon the many.

The more conscious you shall be to your own
upon your people, the more prone you will be to
all love and loyalty from them, and to inflict no
ment upon them for former miscarriages: you will
more inward complacency in pardoning one than
punishing a thousand.

This I write to you, not despairing of God's
and my subjects' affections towards you; both
hope you will study to deserve; yet we cannot
God, but by his own mercy.

If God shall see fit to restore me, and you
to those enjoyments which the laws have assigned
and no subjects without a high degree of guilt
can divest us of, then may I have better oppo

TO THE PRINCE OF WALES. [*Εὐαγγ. Βασίλει.*]

And I shall be so happy to see you in peace, to let you
fully understand the things that belong to God's
will, your own honour, and the kingdom's peace.

But if you never see my face again, and God will
have me buried in such a barbarous imprisonment and
solitude (which the perfecting some men's designs re-
quires), wherein few hearts that love me are permitted
to exchange a word or a look with me; I do require
of you, as your father and your king, that you
will suffer your heart to receive the least check against
the affection from, the true religion established in the
realm of England.

I tell you I have tried it, and, after much search and
many disputes, have concluded it to be the best in the
world, not only in the community, as Christian, but
in the special notion, as Reformed; keeping the
middle way between the pomp of superstitious tyranny,
and the meanness of fantastic anarchy.

It is but that (the draught being excellent as to the
matter both for doctrine and government, in the Church
of England) some lines, as in very good figures, may
need some sweetening or polishing, which might
easily have been done by a safe and gentle hand;
but men's precipitancy had not violently demanded
such alterations as would have quite destroyed all
unity and proportions of the whole.

The scandal of the late troubles, which some may ob-
ject to you against the Protestant religion
established in England. is easily answered to them, or

THE PRINCE OF WALES.]

Ἐκὼν Βασιλική.] TO THE PRINCE OF WALES.

be so happy to see you
understand the things that
honour, and the kingdom
never see my face again
in such a barbarous manner
the perfecting some
few hearts that love me
word or a look with me
as your father and your
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against the Church, the laws, and me, either was
a true lover, embracer, or practiser of the Prot
religion established in England; which neither
such rules, nor ever before set such examples.

It is true, some heretofore had the boldness to p
threatening petitions to their princes and parlia
which others of the same faction (but of worse s
have now put in execution: but let not counterfe
disorderly zeal abate your value and esteem o
piety; both of them are to be "known by their fr
the sweetness of the vine and fig-tree is not
despised, though the brambles and thorns shoul
tend to bear figs and grapes, thereby to rule o
trees.

Nor would I have you to entertain any aversa
dislike of Parliaments, which, in their right const
with freedom and honour, will never injure or d
your greatness, but will rather be as interchang
love, loyalty, and confidence, between a prince
people.

Nor would the events of this black Parliame
been other than such (however much biassed by
in the elections) if it had been preserved from t
lences of popular dictates and tumultuary impr
the sad effects of which will, no doubt, make al
ments after this more cautious to preserve that
and honour which belongs to such assemblie
once they have fully shaken off this yoke of v
croachment), since the public interest consis
mutual and common good both of prince and p

Nothing can be more happy for all, than

TO THE PRINCE OF WALES. [Ἐικὼν Βασιλική.

ve, and honourable ways to contribute their counsels common, enacting all things by public consent, without tyranny or tumults. We must not starve ourselves because some men have surfeited of wholesome food.

And if neither I nor you be ever restored to our throne, but God, in his severest justice, will punish my subjects with continuance in their sin, and suffer them to be deluded with the prosperity of their wickedness; I hope God will give me and you that grace which will strengthen and enable us to want, as well as to wear, a crown, which is not worth taking up or enjoying upon sordid, dishonourable, and irreligious terms.

Keep you to true principles of piety, virtue, and honour, you shall never want a kingdom.

A principal point of your honour will consist in your transferring all respect, love, and protection to your mother, my wife; who hath many ways deserved well of me; and chiefly in this, that (having been a means to bless me with so many hopeful children, — all which, as their mother, I recommend to your love and care) she hath been content, with incomparable magnanimity and patience, to suffer both for, and with, me and you. My prayer to God Almighty is (whatever becomes of me, who am, I thank God, wrapt up and fortified in my own innocency and his grace), that he would be pleased to make you an anchor, or harbour rather, to the tossed and weather-beaten kingdoms; a repairer, by your wisdom, justice, piety, and valour, of what the ambition and wickedness of some men have so far ruined

THE PRINCE OF WALES

Ἐκὼν Βασιλική.] TO THE PRINCE OF WALES

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Church or State; "

crown, the nobility, the clergy, or the common
as to laws, liberties, estates, order, honour, co-
or lives.

When they have destroyed me (for I know
far God may permit the malice and cruelty of
emies to proceed, and such apprehensions so
words and actions have already given me), as
not but my blood will cry aloud for ven-
heaven, so I beseech God not to pour out
upon the generality of the people, who have
serted me or engaged against me, through t
and hypocrisy of their leaders, whose inward l
be their first tormentor, nor will they escape
judgments.

For those that loved me, I pray God they
no miss of me when I am gone; so much I
hope, that all good subjects may be satisfied
blessings of your presence and virtues.

For those that repent of any defects in
towards me, as I freely forgive them in the
Christian king, so I believe you will find t
zealous to repay, with interest, that loyalty a
you which was due to me.

In sum: what good I intended, do you per-
God shall give you power. Much good I ha-
more I purposed, to Church and State, if time
capable of it.

The deception will soon vanish, and the
fall off apace; this mask of religion on the
bellion (for so it now plainly appears, since
and cruel usage, that they sought not for

pretended) will not long serve to hide some men's deformities.

Happy times, I hope, attend you, wherein your subjects (by their miseries) will have learned that religion to their God, and loyalty to their king, cannot be parted without both their sin and their infelicity.

I pray God bless you, and establish your kingdoms in righteousness, your soul in true religion, and your honour in the love of God and your people.

And if God will have disloyalty perfected by my destruction, let my memory ever, with my name, live in you, as of your father that loves you, and once a king of three flourishing kingdoms; whom God thought fit to honour, not only with the sceptre and government of them, but also with the suffering many indignities and an untimely death for them; while I studied to preserve the rights of the Church, the power of the laws, the honour of my crown, the privilege of parliaments, the liberties of my people, and my own conscience, which, I thank God, is dearer to me than a thousand kingdoms.

I know God can, I hope he yet will, restore me to my rights. I cannot despair either of his mercy or of my people's love and pity.

At worst, I trust I shall but go before you to a better kingdom, which God hath prepared for me, and me for it, through my Saviour Jesus Christ, to whose mercies I commend you and all mine.

Farewell, till we meet again, if not on earth, yet in heaven.

PLAINE OF WALKS

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THE TWENTY-NINTH OF MAY.

THE RESTORATION OF THE ROYAL FAMILY

[ARCHBISHOP BRAMHALL]

A SERMON PREACHED AT DUBLIN, UPON THE 23D OF APRIL, 1661, BEING
THE DAY APPOINTED FOR HIS MAJESTY'S CORONATION.

PSALM cxxvi. 6.

*He that now goeth on his way weeping, and beareth
seed, shall doubtless come again with joy, and bring
sheaves with him.*

IN the saddest afflictions and blackest storms that befall a man in this world, give me leave to make thankful acknowledgment, there is no companion comforter like the Psalms of David: he that speaks experimentally is the best physician, both for soul and body.

Being to speak unto this auditory upon His Majesty's happy restitution, I fitted and fixed my thoughts to the first verse of this Psalm, "When the Lord turned again the captivity of Sion, then were we like to them that dreamed." "When the Lord," not the Lord of the Jews, though the edict for the restitution came out from him, but the Lord of the Commons and the Lords of Parliament in relation to us, the

ey helped to lay the foundation of our present happiness; but the Lord Paramount of heaven and earth. When the Lord turned.” In God “there is no shadow turning by change.” But with us there is nothing but turning and re-turning; we are all turning shadows on the old exchange of this world.

“When the Lord turned the captivity,” that is, the Babylonish captives, by an ordinary Hebraism: so it is said of Christ, “he led captivity captive;” that is, those who were captives to sin and Satan he reconquered, and made them to become his own servants: and what are we better than Babylonish captives, while we sojourn in idolatrous and superstitious countries?

There are two sorts of captivity, corporal and spiritual; both are bad, but the latter ten times worse. In corporal captivity the tyrants are external; but in spiritual captivity they are internal, in our bosoms and bowels. There the stings are sharp; but nothing so sharp as the stings of a guilty conscience.

Corporal tyrants may dispossess us of our wealth, our life, our liberty; but spiritual, deprive us of our souls, God’s image, of eternal blessedness. There, one or two members do sinful and slavish offices; but here, all members are weapons of unrighteousness. Corporal captives have but one master; but spiritual captives have many masters: pride commands to spend, and covetousness to spare: nay, the same vice distracts us with contrary commands; as vain-glory foreeth us, at the same time, to soar aloft in the air, and yet creep beneath upon the earth; to swell inwardly with

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lar applause. Corporal slaves have hope to escape flight; but in spiritual captivity no flight can be unless we could fly away from ourselves. Lastly, corporal captivity doth end with life. Death is a cure of all human miseries; but in spiritual captivity death is but a beginning of slavery, and a shutting door of liberty with the key of eternity.

But can mountains be led away captives? other what signifieth "captivity of Sion?" I answer, as we say there is more of Mon Martyr at than there is of Mon Martyr at Mon Martyr might be truly said, there was more of Sion carried away captive than was left at Sion. First, the Temple, was the glory of Sion, was demolished; then, the ceremonies and sacrifices and ordinances of Sion abolished. Thirdly, the holy vessels and garments and other utensils and sacred ornaments were ex- Lastly, the priests and Levites and people of Sion were all carried away captive.

These were the living Sion: without these, Sion is but a dead carcass of itself. Justly, therefore, the captivity of the people of God called the "captivity of Sion."

"Then were we," that is, by way of historical prediction; or, "Then we shall be," by way of prophecy; (either sense may be admitted;) "like those that dream;" that is, like those who are between sleeping and waking: the events were so strange, so unexpected, incredible, that we doubted whether they were real events, or vain fancies and drowsy imaginations. Others translate it, "like those that are comforted."

like those that are recovered from some languishing sickness, and restored to their former strength and vigour.

But whilst I was making a parallel between the Jewish captivity, and of our English captivity and of our deliverance and restitution with theirs, I see the flower which I had designed for the subject of my discourse cropped away before my face ; this necessitated me to alter my meditations from the first verse to the last verse of this psalm. The former was more emphatical for the Jewish captivity ; but the latter suits altogether as well with our present condition. “He that now goeth on his way weeping, and beareth forth good seed, shall doubtless come again with joy, and bring his sheaves with him.”

It is not my manner to amuse my hearers much with various lections or translations. Every language hath its proper idiotisms, or peculiar forms of expression, which differ more in sound than in sense. The worst reading or translation is commonly not so ill as those clashings and uncharitable altercations which are about them. Various lections may sometimes bring some light to the understanding, but they shake that Christian faith which is radicated in the heart. Break ice in one place, and it will crack in more : suffer the truth of Sacred Writ to be questioned, in a word or a syllable, and you weaken the authority and lessen the venerable estimation of the whole text. That which satisfieth me, and may satisfy any good Christian, is this : that God, who hath given the Holy Scriptures to his Church, to be the key of his revealed counsels. the anchor of their

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salvation of his servants. Take this text for an in-
that there is no such danger in various lections or
lations, if they be expounded according to the a-
of faith, and that sense of the Scriptures which
Holy Ghost did give to the Church together w
Scriptures. "He that going goeth," saith the o-
"He that goeth on his way," saith our transla-
"he that goeth forth," that is, from his house to
forth of his country into exile, "weeping," or pen-
sorrowing; "and beareth forth good seed;" (1
we read beareth or draweth good seed, or precious
or the sowing seed, or the hopper, or seed-baske
material;) "shall doubtless come again with joy,
original is, "in coming shall come;" that is, sh-
without fail; shall "doubtless come again with joy,
word only seemeth to me to be translated over-
might be rendered more aptly, "with a shout of
"with joyful acclamations," by allusion to those
dances which they use in many places, when th-
in the last load of their harvest with great pom-
and acclamations of joy;) "and bring his shea-
him;" that is, the increase of his seed, the fr-
labour, the reward of his patience.

In the words we may observe a double qual-
the former, "He that now goeth on his way,"
the latter, "and beareth forth good seed:" an
prognostic; the former, "shall doubtless co-
with joy;" the latter, "and bring his sheaves

We may observe how "going forth" and "coming again," "weeping" and "shouting for joy," "seed" and "sheaves," do answer one another.

And now that we have seen the sense, let us see how fitly these words do agree to the exile and happy restitution of our sovereign, King Charles the Second. First, he went on his way, more like, indeed, some bode or ordinary messenger, than a great prince. He went forth of England into France, from France to Holland, from Holland (after some lesser excursion) into Scotland (fishes and guests gain little by long keeping), where, to speak modestly, he was not entertained like the hundred and tenth prince of that family. To give a civil honour to God's vicegerent was to "idolize the creature." But no honour could be too much, at the same time, for a consistory of their own commissioners: there was nothing to be heard but "the commissioners of Christ," "the tribunal of Christ," "the sceptre of Christ," "the eternal Gospel!" O partiality, how dost thou blind men's eyes!

Before this adventure for Scotland, he had thoughts for Ireland, where the greatest and best part of the kingdom did either profess to hold for him, or desire to return to him. Only two cities did hold out against him, Dublin and Londonderry; and, if my intelligence do not fail me, those expected only his own presence to have submitted with more honour and advantage.

However it was, I did wish it had been God's will that he had come over, that Ireland might have had a signal honour in his restitution then, as it contributed

we how "going in"
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From Scotland he went on his way for England. But the iniquity of the Amorites was not yet. God had something to do with his rod before he cast it into the fire; something in Jamaica, something in Ireland, something in Scotland, something in England itself, to bring the first contrivers of our miseries to shame and condign punishment by their own power. We prepare and facilitate a way for His Majesty's restitution without effusion of blood. God hath more noble and fitter opportunities to effect his own designs than man can comprehend. ("We praise thee, O God, acknowledge thee to be the Lord.") That English voyage, though otherwise unsuccessful, was an earnest presage of this great blessing which we now enjoy. God, who preserved His Majesty so miraculously, had some great work to do with him.

From England he returned to France, from France to Germany, from Germany to Flanders, from Flanders to France back again, thence to Spain, thence to Italy, thence to Holland, and so for England long, and long, and long may his crown flourish.

Was ever sovereign prince so tossed to and fro, bandied hither and thither by the racks of a cruel fortune? changing his stations as often as the nomads did whilst they dwelt in tents. This was a comfortable life, to be always rolling up and down. The next word in my text implies, that is, "He that goeth on his way weeping."

I may say of weeping, as our learned count Lord Verulam said of hope, it was a "good but an ill supper." Early tears, like the mi-

ing, prognosticate a fair serene day: as "April showers bring forth May flowers." They who prove Benjamins, "sons of the right hand," are commonly first Benonis, "sons of sorrow." Christ himself did wear a crown of thorns before he obtained a crown of glory. Joseph was first clapped up close in a dungeon, where he saw neither sun, nor moon, nor stars, for a season, before "the sun, moon, and stars did fall down and worship him." No man can rationally doubt whether our dread sovereign did "sow in tears" before he "reaped in joy," who considers sadly what a misery it is for a great king to be banished from all his relations, to be thrust out of his native country and hereditary kingdoms into the merciless world, to live in want. A French author of good note relates with pity and commiseration the deplorable condition of the Lancastrian family, being of the blood royal of England, in the court of Charles, Duke of Burgundy; that whereas God and nature had provided so bountifully for all other creatures, the fowls of the air, and the beasts of the field, that they never feared the want of food; only men, the best of creatures, and princes, the best of men, should sometimes not know where to find sustenance for to-morrow. A man may justly fear want of money, or want of means, or want of friends; but want of sorrows and tears he need not fear. Foreign kindred and allies do seldom contribute much to the wiping away of these tears. Like winter brooks, they swell with kindness when one hath no need of them; but when they should be useful, they are dried up;

lot ; when his nets were full, he needed but to beckon to his fellows, and presently they were all at elbow ; but when he did sing his lachrymæ, he had not one of them to comfort him. “ Every one is a kinsman to him that is prosperous ; but a friend in need is a friend indeed.”

And, truly, when I compare our necessary expenses, in the long time of our banishment abroad, with our comings in, I cannot attribute our preservation so long, to any thing but to a secret blessing of Almighty God. He that fed the Israelites with manna in a barren wilderness, and preserved their shoes and their raiment from wearing and waxing old ; he that fed Elijah by ravens ; he that blessed the poor widow’s handful of meal and her cruise of oil, will not suffer his servants to die for hunger. But the cares and troubles of princes are incomparably greater, and their wants more pinching, than those of private persons. Their motto may be the candle burning, with these four letters, A. S. M. C., *Aliis serviens meipsam contero* ; in serving others I waste away myself. Their cares extend to all their followers, to provide for their necessities as well as for their own. The sufferings of all their subjects and relations do touch them more nearly than others. Thoughts troubled Nebuchadnezzar’s head whilst his subjects slept securely upon either ear. When the preacher hath but fallen upon the martyrdom of our late sovereign, or those instructions which he left behind him, how have I seen His Majesty dissolve into tears : that brought to my mind that of St. Austin, *Proruperant flumina oculorum meorum acceptabile tuum*

sacrificium; the floods of mine eyes did break forth an acceptable sacrifice unto thee, O God! This is the first qualification: "He that goeth on his way weeping." The second follows: "and bringeth forth good seed." It is a metaphor taken from sowers: "What a man sows, that he may certainly expect to reap." But what is the good seed which our sovereign did bear forth with him? I answer, first, a good title: *Dieu et son droit*, God and his right. There is a mushroom error lately crept into the world, and almost thrust out again, that dominion is founded in grace, not in nature; that the wicked have no interest in their possessions or estates, but are like moths, which make their houses in other men's garments; that all things belong properly to the elect: "Paul, Apollos, Cephas, things present, things to come, all are theirs if they be Christ's." *Ex his præmissis necessario sequitur collusio*. Admit this once, and they who take themselves to be true Israelites may with a good conscience rob and plunder the profane Egyptians of this world. Nothing is more hidden than true grace. We know it not in another, hardly in ourselves. Therefore, if grace should give an interest to possessions, no man's title should be certain; from whence of necessity must follow an incredible confusion. But our God is a God of order. Religion neither alters nor takes away any man's right. Ananias was no saint; yet St. Peter told him that he had a good interest in his estate: "Was it not thine own?" The truth is, dominion is founded in nature, not in grace. It was

son of Adam may challenge an interest in his own estate by virtue of this concession. "All is yours," saith the Scripture; that is, not by way of civil possession, but by divine ordination. All things, by God's disposition, serve for the good of the Church, and for the salvation of God's servants. Or, "all is yours, &c. you are Christ's;" that is, you only who are Christ's have the sanctified use of the creatures. This is far enough from a civil possession, far enough from a just title, such as King Charles had; not grounded upon a fanatic exposition of a text of Holy Scripture, nor upon the fickle humours of a giddy multitude, nor upon traitorous dictates of a seditious orator, but upon evident laws of God, of nature, of nations, and municipal laws of these kingdoms; upon a radical succession from royal progenitors, he himself being the hundred and tenth person of one family who have swayed the sceptre. I do not know any prince in Europe, or in these parts of the world, that can say the same: a title so clear, as if it were written with the beam of the sun, which no true Englishman in his senses did ever yet oppose, but one or two foreign seditious persons, maintained on purpose abroad to kindle sedition fires at home, who gained nothing by the question but to render themselves ridiculous.

This was the good seed which King Charles did sow forth with him — a good title; which though it seemed for a time to perish under the clods, yet we see it sprout up again. A tempest brings Achilles' armour to Ajax's tomb to reverse an unjust sentence; and Aaron devoured the rods of the enchanter, to the confusion of the magicians.

of all loyal subjects and the confusion of all Egyptian jugglers for ever. This is the first good seed which King Charles did bear forth with him — a good title.

A second sort of good seed which King Charles did bear forth with him was the testimony of a good conscience, void of offence toward God and towards man. A good conscience is a better proof of innocence than a thousand witnesses, and will make itself a garland of the lying reports of sycophants. When King Charles was first chased out of England, his age was not capable of much guilt, and his only crime was, that (which in truth was his chiefest glory) he was the son of such a father. Those accursed jealousies and fears, which the first devisers and spreaders of them did know assuredly to be damnable lies, are now vanished. Truth, the daughter of Time, hath discovered them to all the world to have been counterfeit shows. They feared an apostacy to popery; yet King Charles the father died a glorious martyr, and King Charles the son lives a noble confessor of the true faith professed in the Church of England, having showed evidently by a thousand proofs that he is no such reed shaken with the wind. They complained of tyranny against him whose only defect was overmuch goodness and lenity. Let their high courts of injustice speak; let their black roll of sequestrators and committee-men speak; let all the great towns in England (which they made shambles of good Christians and loyal subjects) speak; let Tredagh speak, and that torrent of loyal blood which was poured out there, barbarously upon cold and

ridiculous affectation to make himself like the gods, assume Mercury's rod, Apollo's bow and arrows, Mars sword and shield. But King Charles hath ever been ensigns of the Deity, — justice, mercy, piety, temperance. These make up the image of God; when these abound, the bird in the breast sings sweetly. who hath these may with comfort expect a happy deliverance from all his troubles. He that goeth on way weeping, and beareth forth this seed with him shall doubtless come again with joy.

The third sort of good seed which King Charles bear with him was a good religion. A religion not formed tumultuously, according to the brainsick fan of an half-witted multitude, dancing after the pipe of some seducing charmer, but soberly, according to the word of God's word, as it hath been evermore and every where interpreted by the Catholic Church, and according to the purest pattern of the primitive times. A religion against which the greatest adversaries thereof have no exception, but that it preferreth grace before nature, the written word before uncertain traditions, and the all-sufficient blood of Jesus Christ before the statutes and works of mortal man. A religion which is neither galled with superfluous ceremonies, nor yet sluttish, and without all order, decency, and majesty in the service of God. A religion which is as careful to retain the articles of faith, as it is averse from new articles. The essences of all things do consist in *indivisibili*. It is adulterated as well by the addition of new articles as by the subtraction of old. A religion, which is like to perish for want of fit organs, like those in

fect creatures produced by the sun upon the banks of Nilus, but shaped for continuance; the terror of Rome (they fear our moderation more than the violent opposition of others), the watch-tower of the evangelical churches. I have seen many churches of all sorts of communions, but never any that could diminish that venerable estimation which I had for my mother, the Church of England. From her breasts I received my first nourishment, in her arms I desire to end my days: blessed be he that blesseth her. This good seed, that is, the religion of the Church of England, King Charles did bear forth with him. This he brought home with him, without turning either to the right hand or to the left; and, like the laurel tree (the tree of conquerors), he gathered strength and vigour even from opposition: *crescit sub pondere virtus*.

I cannot deny but that some of us have started aside like broken bows out of despair in this their bitter trial, wherein they have had their goods plundered, their estates sequestered, their persons imprisoned, their churches aliened; wherein they have been divorced from their nearest relation, and disabled to discharge the duties of their callings to God; wherein some of them have been slaughtered, others forced to maintain themselves by mechanic labours, others thrust out of their native country, to wander like vagabonds and exiled beggars up and down the merciless world. But, God be praised, they are not many. If we compare this with any the like persecutions in Europe, you will

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they banish me? the earth is the Lord's, and the thereof; if they cast me into the sea, I will re-
Jonas; if into a fiery furnace, the three child
among the wild beasts, Daniel; if they stone
have St. Stephen for my companion; if they
me, John Baptist; if they plunder me naked,
I came out of my mother's womb, and naked
return again.'” Or with the heroical mind of
brose, *Vultisne ad vincula me abripere? volu-
mihi, &c.*; Will ye hale me to prison? it is a
unto me. To death? I will not encircle myself
a guard of trusty followers, nor lay hold on them
as a suppliant to save my life, but will be freely
up for the altars of my God. Spices being brayed
mortar smell more sweetly; so those servants of
being beaten and bruised by persecutors, do
more fragrant odour in the nostrils of God as
The ground of their constancy, next to the good
God, was the example of our dread sovereign
courage and perseverance.

The example of a great prince is like the great
of a clock, which sets all the lesser wheels agoing
shall one day crown his temples with a diadem
bright than the beams of the sun; as far excell
crown, which he is to receive this day, as the
splendour of the sun doth exceed the dim shining
glow-worm. Then if Tully, an heathen, could
the Romans did owe their victories and good
more to their religious piety than either
number or strength or policy, why should Charles
despair or doubt, that King Charles, who went

way weeping, and did bear forth such precious seed with him, should come again with joy, and bring his sheaves with him?

The last sort of good seed which King Charles did bear forth with him was the prayers and good affections of his subjects. Tyrants might deprive him of his other contributions; this they could not deprive him of. If St. Austin did attribute so much to the prayers and tears of his mother, Monica, what might not be hoped from the prayers and tears of so many thousands, poured out to God in private, for their king and country, church and commonwealth, liberty and religion? At a German diet the princes fell upon a controversy which of them had the best country. The Palatine commended his, for the fruitful soil; the Saxon his, for the silver mines; the Bavarian his, for stately cities; the Duke of Wittenberg, in praise of his country, said only this, "that he durst lay his head on the lap of any subject throughout his dominions, either by day or by night." *Fortunati ambo!* a happy prince of a happy people, where that evil spirit had not walked which set dissension between Abimelech and the men of Sichem. England was not always so happy; when some counterfeit physician (like the wolf in the fable) persuaded against her own sense that she was sick to death, without all kind of recovery, unless she would put herself into their hands to be cured. She did so. And what the issue had been, if God Almighty had not looked down upon us from heaven with an eye of pity, we

coals, which she had eaten in corners, and returned to eat more healthful food at her father's table. This was a short fit of madness. "O Phocion," said Demades, "look to thyself when the Athenians fall into their mad fits." "And thou, Demades," replied Phocion, "look to thyself when they return to their wits." But, God be praised, even whilst this epidemic distemper did rage the most, there were not only thousands in England, but seventy times seven thousands who never bowed their knees to Baal Berith, the god of the covenant, but continued loyal subjects and obedient Christians, and were not afraid, with the sword to expose their bodies to the blows, and their souls to be a prey to their persecutors, that they might save their head: first, their spiritual head, that is, Christ; secondly, their political head, that is, their sovereign prince; and, lastly, their ecclesiastical head, the Pope and his superiors in the Church. These were the true heroes who wrestled with God by their prayers, and I have done with the second qualification, "and they shall bring forth good seed." I come, now, to the third qualification, "they shall come again with joy."

Every word in my text proclaims that there is an interchangeable vicissitude of all human affairs. We have "going forth" and "coming again," "sowing" and "reaping," "seed" and "sheaves." "He that goeth forth weeping, and beareth forth good seed, shall come again with joy, and bring his sheaves." That of Solomon, "There is a time for every thing, a time to plant, and a time to pluck up; a time to l

time to pull down," holds in cities and public societies, as well as private families; and they may set the moon upon their gates, as well as the old Romans did upon their shoes, to put them in mind of the instability of this world. One is, another was, and a third shall be, even as it pleaseth God, in whose hand there is a chain to lift them up or let them down at his pleasure. The greatest monarchs and monarchies in the world, in comparison of him, are but *guttæ roris antelucani*, drops of morning dew, quickly dried up with the heat of the sun, or easily dispersed with the least puff of wind. All places have their days and nights, their summers and winters, their sunshine and storms. No sublunary thing is stable. The sun hath its eclipses, the moon hath its waxings and wanings, the sea hath its ebbings and flowings, the elements their successive changes. Peace and war, sickness and health, plenty and dearth, do succeed one another. The whole world is a restless whirligig, running violently, sometimes this way, sometimes that way; a reed shaken hither and thither with every puff of wind; a tottering quagmire, whereupon it is impossible to lay a sure foundation: like a sick man, that can take no rest in his bed, but is continually tossing and turning from side to side.

St. Paul doth describe our right image in two metaphors, Eph. iv. 14.: "That we henceforth be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine." The former metaphor is taken from little children. You may draw a child any whither

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 tains: so we, like children, are easily led into a
 paradise, not with apples of Eden, but with apples
 Sodom, which turn to dust when they come to
 joyed. The other metaphor is taken from a ship
 at hull, tossed to and fro, and carried about
 every wind; even so do we fluctuate between
 broken waves and contrary billows of different
 and desires.

Thus we are changeable in our minds; but we
 changeable in our estates. Now we abound with
 God knows how soon the best of us may be neces-
 to beg an halfpenny of passengers with great Bell
 Now every man's tongue is a silver trumpet, to
 out our praises, which perhaps deserve not to be
 upon an oaken reed: God knows how soon this
 may be changed to crucifige, and we be loaded
 more unjust calamities than ever was blessed A-
 sius. Now we enjoy the sweet sauce of all ter-
 blessings, that is, health: God knows how soon
 may cast us upon our restless beds, and chan-
 sweet repose into wearisome tossings: God knows
 soon we may be choked with the fumes of a
 or drowned with hydropical humours, or burnt
 choleric distempers, or buried alive in the
 melancholic imaginations. Now we sit in the
 of peace, every man under his own vine and
 fig-tree: we know not how soon our ringing
 may be changed to roaring of cannons. It is
 of the Lord that these mischiefs do not over-

This vicissitude of human affairs is necessar

being of the world. Beasts would multiply without number if none were brought to the shambles. Fishes would fill the sea, and fowls the air, if the greater did not devour the less, and both serve for the use of man. By nature we are born thicker into the world than we die out of the world; every age builds cities, towns, villages; so as if God did not sometimes thrust in the sickle of his justice into the over-rank field of this world, and sweep away whole multitudes by war, or famine, or pestilence, two worlds could not contain us, ten worlds could not nourish us.

If any place would have pleaded a privilege to exempt itself from this changeable vicissitude, what rather than Jerusalem? yet it had not one stone left upon another. Or Capernaum, whose magnificent buildings were lifted up to heaven? yet it was cast down to hell. Pliny and Strabo write wonders of the walls of Babylon; yet now it is become a place for owls to screech in, and for satyrs to dance in. And now grass grows where once Troy stood. Alas, wherein can any city or society place their confidence to protect them from this common vicissitude? In navies or armadoes? How easily may they be cast away, or dashed in pieces against the rocks, as the ships of Jehoshaphat were at Ezeon-Geber! Or in walls and fortifications? when the walls of Jericho fell down at the sound of rams' horns, and the shout of an enemy. Or in prudent politicians? when God can infatuate the wisdom of the wise, and turn all their counsels into folly, as he did the counsels of Achitophel. Or in numerous armies of

panical fears, so that ten shall chase an hundred in leagues and confederacies? when he can set Ephraim against Manasseh, and Manasseh against Ephraim both against Judah. Navies, armies, garrisons, colors, confederates, are no more able to prevent the common vicissitude of all human affairs than a sheet of paper to resist the shot of a cannon.

First, then, seeing that by the ordinance of God there is such a necessary vicissitude of all things, do not think vainly to translate this valley of tears into a paradise of perpetual bliss, or to clip the wings of prosperity, that it should never fly away. Even her eldest son, Cain, a possession, and he perished a vagabond. Then, as skilful pilots whilst the sea is calmest do provide for a storm, and as good soldiers do keep a vigilant sentry in the time of truce; so when we have enough, let us remember the time of lack, and when we are rich, think of poverty and want. Eccles. xviii. 25. When we are at home in peace, let us think upon those times when we hanged out our garments upon the willows by the rivers of Babylon. In the worst, and the best will save itself. Darts of adversity foreseen seldom do any great hurt. Above all, heed that thou never "boast of to-morrow, for thou knowest not what a day may bring forth."

Secondly, since there is such a vicissitude in all human affairs, why should any man murmur at his present condition? The murmuring spearmen are like arrows shot up in defiance against God, which always fall down again upon their own heads. "Should we receive good at the hand of God,

evil?" Who can say that his sufferings are equal to his sins? God rewardeth many beyond desert; but he never punisheth any beyond desert. I know that the saints themselves are involved in national judgments as well as others, as Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, in the captivity; but it was a blessing to them, not a punishment. As it were madness for a boatman to think that by the strength of his arm and cable he was able to draw the main rock to his little boat, and not to pull himself and his little boat to the main rock; so it were a mere folly for any man to think that by his struggling against the stream of human affairs he should be able to change the course of the world, and to make it pliant to his desires. It is both pious and prudent to think that to be evermore best for us which God sends.

Thirdly, since human affairs are so mutable, no extremity should make us despair. When the bricks are doubled, when our miseries are at the highest, when all the help of man doth seem to fail us, then comes Moses to deliver us. When Pharaoh's butler had forgotten Joseph, then God remembered him. An usurer will trust a bankrupt upon a pawn; and shall not we trust God Almighty with our deliverance unless he give us a pawn for performance of his word? Remember that judgment which fell upon the Samaritan lord for his infidelity. "Though the Lord," said he, "should make windows in heaven, could this thing be?" The Lord did not make windows in heaven, yet that thing was, and came to pass at the time prefixed; but he lived not to enjoy the benefit of it. God hath unimaginable

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wonder and admiration this day. Thus, as the
 of Canaan did pick comfort out of the name
 so we may gather hope out of the vanity and
 of all sublunary things. After darkness we
 for light; after a tempest, for a calm; after
 tossings, for sweet repose: when the storm is
 and the black clouds overblown, which dar
 face of the sky, and seemed to take possess
 whole region of the air, and to pierce the ver
 suddenly behold a vicissitude. As no pr
 permanent, so no adversity is perpetual.
 comes a country; after seed-time comes har
 after weeping comes joy. "He that now g
 way weeping, and beareth forth good seed,
 less come again with joy."

I told you before, that our translation, wh
 it only "joy," seems to me over flat and sho
 ginal, which signifies a shout or acclamation
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 vest dame, or the last load of their summer
 music and feasting and shouting. If ev
 verified in any exiled prince, who had gon
 ing, and came again with joy to his kingdo
 country, it was verified in King Charles
 restitution and entrance into his royal city
 high expressions of joy in foreign parts
 occasion. I saw when the King of France
 returned to his city of Paris, after he ha
 out of it by his own subjects: but such
 tions, such universal expressions of joy,
 or hear, as were then made to welcome in

it as a father said, hyperbolically, of the sin of Adam, that it was a happy fault which obtained such a Redeemer; so we may say, in the same sense and no other, that it was a happy exclusion which produced a restitution.

There remains only one word yet untouched in this part of my text, that is, "doubtless:" "shall doubtless be again with joy." What, then, is it so undoubted a truth, that every one who is thrust out of his right shall be restored with such joyful acclamations? No: God's judgments in this life are imperfect, and

dispensations of them are inscrutable; *in rebus inis magna est caligo*, there is a great mist in the eyes of God. God's temporal promises ought to be understood with an exception of the cross, unless he will it to be otherwise expedient for the advancement of his own glory, and the eternal good of his servants. He punisheth some sinners here, to show that there is a just judge; and leaves others unpunished, to show that there is a judgment to come. This truth is affirmed

essly by Solomon, Eccles. vii. 15.: "All things I seen in the days of vanity; there is a just man perisheth in his righteousness, and a wicked man prolongeth his life in his wickedness." And if we have not plain Scripture for it, the example of our late sovereign King Charles the First, was proof sufficient who was murdered by his own subjects, that had sworn allegiance to him, in his capital city, before the door of his own palace, in the sight of his own people, in the face of the sun, under a formality of justice.

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 a happy fault which existed
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quire it here in part, but will require it hereafter to
 the uttermost farthing, from all those who had a hand
 in that crying parricide, and have not, or shall not
 wash away the guilt with unfeigned tears. That
 happy martyr is now following the Lamb in his whites
 and reaps in joy what he did sow in tears. And his
 son is this day crowned with his royal diadem, wit-
 the shouts and acclamations of his subjects: so true
 that of my text, that either here, or hereafter, or bot
 "he that goeth on his way weeping, and beareth for
 good seed with him, shall doubtless come again with
 acclamations of joy, and bring his sheaves with him."

This brings me to the last clause of my text: "and
 bring his sheaves with him." This life is a seed-time
 whatsoever we sow here we are sure to reap hereaf-
 even to a glass of cold water; as surely as when thou
 seest a man casting seed out of a hopper, thou mayest
 foretell what shall be the crop. The seed and
 sheaves cannot choose but be the same grain; the
 sheaves are seed multiplied, it may be thirty fold,
 it may be sixty fold, it may be a hundred fold.
 "sheaves" do signify all those advantages which will
 by His Majesty's restitution. The first sheaf is
 The nearer that societies approach to unity, the fewer
 they are from fear of dissolution. When the Royal
 did find themselves in any great peril, they ever
 mitted themselves to one dictator, as a sacred
 and sure remedy to take away their divisions.
 Majesty hath not only stopped up the spring of
 divisions by his just title, but hath purchased
 peace by parting with his own just rights, to

the interests of all parties. Let his example be our pattern, to do whatsoever we can with justice for the public peace, although it be to our own private prejudice. The Pythagoreans had a rule to leave no print of the bottom of the cup in the ashes, that is, in reconciliation to retain no resentment of former quarrels. The divided sides of a wound do meet together in a scar; and strange plants, by inoculation, do become one tree. It were hard that quarrels should be immortal, or more durable than nature, or that the passions of the mind should be more malignant and difficult to be closed than the wounds or ulcers of the body, and that no way should be left to unite the divided members of Christ. Doth God delight as much in the observation or not observation of indifferent ceremonies, as he doth in the love and unity of brethren, and just obedience to lawful superiors? Or is it his will, that, for a few innocent rites established by law, kingdoms should swim with blood, monarchies be turned upside down, and innocent Christians be brought to utter beggary? It is a folly to dote so upon the body as to cherish the sores and ulcers thereof; or out of hatred to the ulcers to destroy the body. The not distinguishing between the essences and abuse of particular churches hath been the cause of all our miseries. This is the first sheaf which King Charles brings with him, that is, peace.

The second sheaf is the opening of our courts, the restoring of our laws to their vigour, and the establishment of justice among us.

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was this poor kingdom in, which neither had a
nor sheriff legally appointed, nor so much as
of the peace, for so long time together? It
mercy of God that the policy and frame of th
dom was not utterly destroyed, and brought
fusion. The law is like the wrest of a musical
ment, which puts the jarring string in tune. I
balance of the commonwealth, which gives th
weight to gold and lead, the rule and square of
the standard and measure of the kingdom, the f
tion of liberty, the fountain of equity, the life an
of policy. Parents may leave a patrimony to
children, but the law preserves it; armies may co
kingdoms, but laws establish them. A city may b
without walls, but never without laws. That w
and sleep in quiet, that our houses are not fired
our heads, nor our daughters are not deflowered b
our eyes, it is the benefit of the laws, without wh
we should bite and devour one another, as the gre
fishes do the less. This is the second sheaf which K
Charles brought with him, that is, the laws. A th
sheaf is experience: "Woe be to thee, O land, wh
thy king is a child." Eccles. x. 16. That is, a child
understanding and experience. The inexperience
Rehoboam and his young counsellors quickly destroy
the kingdom. We use to say, "A new physician mu
have a new churchyard." A new physician is not mor
dangerous to the body than a new politician to th
state. It is written of Darius, that, in opening a fai
pomegranate, one demanded of him of what thing h

desired so many as there were kernels in that pomegranate? He replied, so may Zopyrus's, that is, prudent and experienced counsellors. God be praised, our Darius may be a Zopyrus to himself, having had that advantage which none of his predecessors ever had, to have viewed, with his own eyes, the chiefest of his neighbours' courts, kingdoms, and commonwealths, their interests, their laws and forms of government, their strength and weakness, their advantages and disadvantages, both in war and peace; things of excellent use to a prince: and this may well pass for a third sheaf: "And shall bring his sheaves with him."

A fourth sheaf, and the last which I shall mention at this time, is security. Usurpers are always full of jealousies and fears. The reason is evident (Wisdom, vii. 11.): wickedness condemned by her own testimony is very timorous, and, being pressed with conscience, always forecasteth grievous things. It was observed of Richard the Third, that, after he had murdered his nephews and usurped the crown, he wore his hand continually upon his dagger. A plain sign of inward guilt. When the wise men made this demand, "Where is he that is born king of the Jews?" Herod was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him. *Successor instat, pellimur, satelles i, ferrum rape, perfunde cunas sanguine.* "A successor is come, we are chased away. Go, soldiers, catch your swords, and make the cradles swim with blood." These inward fears render them cruel and vindictive, and make them multiply their soldiers and their

These grow chargeable to a commonwealth ; easily fi
servants turn masters. From all these burdens :
suspicions we are freed by the restitution of the ri
heir. So, every way, King Charles brings his shea
with him.

A prince as supereminent above others in goodn
as Saul was in stature, and more adorned with virtu
than with his purple ; to whose coronation this day
dedicated. Much may he give, long may he live,
nursing father to the Church, a patron to the common
wealth, a protector to his friends, a terror to his enemies
an honour and a darling to his country ! Let the hope
of all those who envy this day's happiness melt awa
as winter ice, and flow away as unprofitable waters
And long, long may his crown flourish, which this day
first adorns his temples, until he change that corruptibl
crown with an immarcessible crown of glory !

When I consider with myself the condition of the
most flourishing commonwealth, as Athens, how fatal
they have, for the most part, been to persons of eminent
virtues, whereof few escaped both banishment and
poison, I cannot but admire our happiness under the
best of monarchies ; when I compare those arts and
exactions which are used in our neighbour countries,
where the whole estate of the commonwealth goes
through the magistrate's hands in the short compass of
a very few years. Much good may the mock liberty
of their tongues do them, which their purses pay for.
I cannot but proclaim, O happy England, if thou
knewest thine own happiness ! But neither the time

permits me, nor my desires invite me, to fall upon this subject. I will turn my discourse into prayers, that the great God of heaven and earth will give His Majesty a long life, a secure empire, a prudent and faithful council, a loyal and obedient people, expert and valiant armies. Blessed be he that blesseth him ! and let every loyal subject say, Amen.

THE TWENTIETH OF JUNE,

BEING

**THE DAY ON WHICH HER MAJESTY BEGAN HER
HAPPY REIGN.**



THE ACCESSION.

A SERMON ON THE KING'S HAPPY RETURN.

[ISAAC BARROW, D.D.]

1 TIM. ii. 1, 2.

I exhort therefore, that, first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men: for kings, and for all that are in authority.

SAINT Paul in his preceding discourse having insinuated directions to his scholar and spiritual son, Timothy, concerning the discharge of his office, of instructing men in their duty according to the evangelical doctrine (the main design whereof he teacheth to consist, not, as some men conceited, in fond stories, or vain speculations^b, but in practice of substantial duties, holding sincere faith, maintaining a good conscience, performing offices of pure and hearty charity^c;) in pursuance of such general duty, and as a principal instance thereof he doth here “first of all exhort,” or, doth “exhort that, first of all,” all kinds of devotion should be offered to God, as for “all men” generally, so particularly for “kings” and magistrates. From whence we may collect two particulars. 1. That the making of prayer for kings is a Christian duty of great importance; S

^a 1 Tim. i. 3.

^b Ver. 6.

^c Ver. 5. 19.

Paul judging fit to “exhort” thereto *πρῶτον πάντων*, “before all other things;” or, to “exhort that, before all things,” it should be performed.* 2. That it is incumbent on the pastors of the Church (such as St. Timothy was) to take special care that this duty should be performed in the Church; both publicly in the congregations, and privately in the retirements of each Christian: according to what the Apostle, after the proposing divers enforcements of this duty, subsumeth in the eighth verse: “I will therefore, that men pray every where, lifting up holy hands, without wrath or doubting.”

The first of these particulars, That it is a duty of great importance to pray “for kings,” I shall insist upon: it being indeed now very fit and seasonable to urge the practice of it, when it is perhaps commonly not much considered, or not well observed; and when there is most need of it, in regard to the effects and consequences which may proceed from the conscionable discharge of it.

My endeavour therefore shall be to press it by divers considerations, discovering our obligation thereto, and striving to induce us to its observance; some whereof shall be general, or common to all times; some particular, or suitable to the present circumstances of things. I. The Apostle exhorteth Christians to pray for kings with all sorts of prayers: with *δεήσεις*, or deprecations, for averting evils from them; with *προσευχαι*, petitions, for obtaining good things to them; with

and graces to be collated on them; as, after St. Austin^a, interpreters, in expounding St. Paul's words, commonly distinguish; how accurately, I shall not discuss; it sufficing, that assuredly the Apostle meaneth, under this variety of expression, to comprehend all kinds of prayer. And to this, I say, we are obliged upon divers accounts.

1. Common charity should dispose us to pray for kings. This Christian disposition inclineth to universal benevolence and beneficence; according to that apostolical precept, "As we have opportunity, let us do good unto all men^b:" it consequently will excite us to pray for all men; seeing this is a way of exerting good-will, and exercising beneficence, which any man at any time, if he hath the will and heart, may have opportunity and ability to pursue.

No man indeed otherwise can benefit all; few men otherwise can benefit many; some men otherwise can benefit none: but in this way any man is able to benefit all, or unconfinedly to oblige mankind, deriving on any somewhat of God's immense beneficence. By performing this good office, at the expense of a few good wishes addressed to the Sovereign Goodness, the poorest may prove benefactors to the richest, the meanest to the highest, the weakest to the mightiest of men: so we may benefit even those who are most remote from us, most strangers and quite unknown to us. Our prayers can reach the utmost ends of the earth; and by them our charity may embrace all the world.

And from them surely kings must not be excluded.

^a Aug. ep. 59. Beza, Grotius, &c.

^b Gal. vi. 10.

For if, because all men are our fellow-creatures, and brethren by the same heavenly Father; because all men are allied to us by cognation and similitude of nature; because all men are the objects of God's particular favour and care: if, because all men are partakers of the common redemption, by the undertakings of Him who is the common Mediator and Saviour of all men; and because all men, according to the gracious intent and desire of God, are designed for a consortship in the same blessed inheritance: (which enforcements St. Paul in the context doth intimate^a :) if, in fine, because all men do need prayers, and are capable of benefit from them, we should be charitably disposed to pray for them: then must we also pray for kings, who, even in their personal capacity, as men, do share in all those conditions. Thus may we conceive St. Paul here to argue: "For all men," saith he; "for kings;" that is, consequently "for kings," or, particularly "for kings;" to pray for whom, at least no less than for other men, universal charity should dispose us.

Indeed, even on this account, we may say especially "for kings;" the law of general charity with peculiar advantage being applicable to them: for that law commonly is expressed with reference to our neighbour, that is, to persons with whom we have to do, who come under our particular notice, who by any intercourse are approximated to us; and such are kings especially. For whereas the greatest part of men (by reason of their distance from us, from the obscurity of their condition,

all men are our fellow-creatures, the same heavenly Father, by cognation and affinity, are the objects of God's love: if, because all men are created in the image of God, by the understanding of a Mediator and Saviour, we are designed for a converse with him: (which enforcement is intimate^a;) if, in fine, we are charitably disposed, we also pray for kings, who, as men, do share in our misery; we conceive St. Paul's words, "for kings," or, particularly "for us," least no less than for us, should dispose us, on account, we may say, of general charity with all men: for that is the reference to our neighbour, whom we have to do, with whom we have to converse, who by any intercourse are kings especially of men (by reason of their obscurity of their condition to converse with

4, 5, 6.

must needs slip beside us, so that we cannot have any distinct thought or affection toward them, so with kings, who, by their eminent and high station, become very observable by us, with whom we have frequent transactions and mutual concerns; therefore, in the strictest acceptation, are our neighbours, whom we are charged to love as ourselves; consequently, we must perform this most important office of praying for them.

2. To impress which consideration, we must observe that commonly we have only this way of exercising our charity toward princes, that is, by praying for them, situated aloft above the reach of private benevolence, so that we cannot enrich them or relieve their wants; we cannot help to exalt or prefer them to a better state; we can hardly come to impart them advice, seasonable consolation, or wholesome counsel; we cannot profit or please them by familiar conversation. For as in divers other respects they resemble the Divinity, so in this they are like God himself; we may say to them, as the Psalmist to God, my Lord; my goodness extendeth not to thee; this case may be reserved, wherein the poor cannot benefit the greatest prince, imparting the choicest goods to him; he may be indebted for his safety, for the prosperity of his affairs, for his honour and favour toward him, to the prayers of his vassal. And thus to oblige princes, methinks

^a "Privatorum ista copia est, inter se esse munificentiæ." *Gratian*.

"Absit, Auguste, et istud sancta divinitas omen ave, quam mortalium expectes vicem beneficii." *Mamerc. ad*

^b Psalm xvi. 2.

be very desirous ; we should be glad to use such an advantage, we should be ambitious of such an honour.

3. We are bound to pray for kings out of charity to the public, because their good is a general good, and the communities of men (both Church and State) are greatly concerned in the blessings by prayer derived on them.

The safety of a prince is a great part of the common welfare ; the commonwealth, as it were, living and breathing in him : his fall, like that of a tall cedar (to which he is compared ^a), shaking the earth, and discomposing the state ; putting things out of course, and drawing them into new channels ; translating the administration of affairs into untried hands and an uncertain condition. Hence, “Let the king live^b,” (which our translators render, “God save the king,”) was an usual form of salutation, or prayer ; and “O king, live for ever^c,” was a customary address to princes, whereto the best men did conform, even in application to none of the best princes : as Nehemiah to king Artaxerxes^d, and Daniel to king Darius.^e Hence, not only good king David is called “the light of Israel^f ;” (“Thou shalt not,” said Abishai, “any more go out with us to battle, that thou quench not the light of Israel ;) but even the wicked and perverse king Zedekiah^g is, by the prophet Jeremiah himself^h, who had been so misused by

^a Isa. ii. 13.

^b 1 Kings, i. 25. 2 Kings, xi. 12. 2 Chron. xxiii. 11. 1 Kings, 31.

him, styled "the breath of our nostrils." ("The breath," saith he, "of our nostrils, the anointed of the Lord, was taken in their pits.") Hence, not only the fall of good king Josiah was so grievously lamented^a, but a solemn mourning was due to that of Saul^b; and, "Ye daughters of Jerusalem, weep for Saul," was a strain becoming the mouth of his great successor, king David. Hence the primitive Christians, who could not be constrained to swear by the genius of Cæsar, did not yet, in compliance with the usual practice, scruple to swear by their health or safety^c; that is, to express their wishing it, with appeal to God's testimony of their sincerity therein, as Joseph may be conceived to have sworn "by the life of Pharaoh."^d Hence, well might the people tell king David, "Thou art worth ten thousand of us^e," seeing the public was so much interested in his safety, and had suffered more in the loss of him, than if a myriad of others had miscarried.

This honour, likewise, of a prince, is the glory of his people, seeing it is founded on qualities or deeds tending to their advantage; seeing it can hardly be supposed that he should acquire honour without their aid and concurrence, or that he should retain it without their support and their satisfaction. And as the charge and beauty of a body is in the head, and the fairest ornaments of the whole are placed there; so any commonwealth most dignified and beautified by reputation of its prince.^f

^a Zech. xii. 11.

^b 2 Chron. xxxv. 24. 2 Sam. i. 12. 24.

^c "Sed et juramus, sicut non per genios Cæsarum, ita per salutem nostram, quæ est augustior omnibus geniis." *Tert. Apol. cap. xxxii.*

^d Gen. xlii. 15, 16.

^e 2 Sam. xviii. 3.

^f Prov. iv. 9.

The wealth and power of a prince are the supports and securities of a state; he thereby being enabled to uphold and defend its safety, its order, its peace; to protect his people from foreign injuries and invasions^a; to secure them from intestine broils and factions; to repress outrages and oppressions annoying them.

The prosperity of a prince is inseparable from the prosperity of his people, they ever partaking of his fortunes, and thriving or suffering with him: for as when the sun shineth brightly there is a clear day and fair weather over the world; so when a prince is not overclouded with adversity or disastrous occurrences, the public state must be serene, and a pleasant state of things will appear. Then is the ship in a good condition, when the pilot, in open sea, with full sails and a brisk gale, cheerfully steereth on toward his designed port.

Especially the piety and goodness of a prince is of vast consequence, and yieldeth infinite benefit to his country; for *vita principis censura est*, the life of a prince is a calling of other men's lives to an account. His example^b hath an unspeakable influence on the manners of his people, who are apt, in all his garb and every fashion, to imitate him.^c His practice is more powerful than his commands, and often doth control

^a Psalm lxxii. 4.

^b Ecclus. x. 2.

^c "Flexibiles in quamcunque partem ducimur a principe, atque, ut ita dicam, sequaces sumus. Huic enim chari, huic probati esse cupimus; quod frustra speraverint dissimiles. Eoque obsequii continuatione perenimus, ut prope omnes homines unius moribus vivamus." *Plin. Paneg.*

THE ACCESSION

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 did God then pour down upon Israel! How
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 his country till a long time after his decea

^a Prov. xx. 8.

^b Prov. xiv. 3, 4.; xvi. 12.; 2 Sam. vii. 16. Prov.

^c 2 Sam. vii. 9. Psalm lxxii. 7.

often did God profess, for his servant David's sake^a," to preserve Judah from destruction; so that even in the days of Hezeziah, when the king of Assyria did invade that country, God by the mouth of Isaiah declared, "I will defend this city to save it for mine own sake, and for my servant David's sake."

We may indeed observe, that, according to the representation of things in Holy Scripture, there is a kind of moral connection, or a communication of merit and guilt, between prince and people; so that, mutually, each of them is rewarded for the virtues, each is punished for the vices, of the other. As, for the iniquities of a people, God withdraweth from their prince the free communications of his grace and of his favour, suffering him to incur sin, or to fall into misfortune; which was the case of that incomparably good king Josiah^b, and hath been the fate of divers excellent princes, whom God hath snatched away from people unworthy of them, or involved with such a people in common calamities; according to the rule propounded in the Law^c, of God's dealing with the Israelites in the case of of their disobedience; and according to that of Samuel: "If ye shall do wickedly, ye shall be consumed, both ye and your king^d:" so, reciprocally, for the misdemeanours of princes (or in them and by them), God doth chastise their people.^e For what confusions in Israel did the offences of Solomon create!^f What mischiefs did issue

^a 2 Sam. vii. 16. 1 Kings, xi. 13. Jer. xxxiii. 21. Psalm lxxxix. 29. ; cxxxii. 10. Isa. xxxvii. 35. 1 Kings, xi. 32. 34.

^b 2 Kings, xxiii. 25. Isa. iii. 1, &c.

^c Deut. xxviii. 36.

^d 1 Sam. xii. 25.

^f 1 Kings. xi. 30.

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13. Jer. xxxiii. 21. Psal.
1 Kings, xi. 32. 34.
&c. Deut. xviii. 1
Prov. xviii. 1

thereon from Jeroboam's wicked behaviour!^a
the sins of Manasseh stick to his country^b, and
even after that notable reformation wrought
it is said, "Notwithstanding, the Lord turned
the fierceness of his great wrath, wherewith
was kindled against Judah, because of all the
tions wherewith Manasseh had provoked him
how sorely, by a tedious three years' famine
avenge Saul's cruelty toward the Gibeonites!

Nor are only the sins of bad princes affixed
conspiring with them in impiety; for even
Hezekiah it is said, "But Hezekiah rendered
according to the benefit done unto him; for
was lifted up: therefore there was wrath upon
upon Judah and Jerusalem."^c So the pri
gratitude of an excellent prince were avenged
subjects. And when good king David (Gave
his grace from him) did fall into that arro
gression of counting his forces, that, as Joab
foretold, became "a cause of trespass to
God," saith the text, "was displeased with
therefore he smote Israel."^d

David, indeed, seemed to apprehend some
this proceeding, expostulating thus: "Is it
commanded the people to be numbered?
that have sinned and done evil indeed; but
sheep, what have they done?"^e But God he
to his plea, nor returned any answer to it

^a 1 Kings, xv. 30.

^b 2 Kings, xvii. 21.

^c 2 Kings, xxiii. 26.

^d 2

^e Jer. xxxii. 32. 2 Chron. xxxii. 25.

^f 1

^g 1 Chron. xxi. 17.

God's wrath began with the people, and their king's sin was but a judgment executed on them ; for " the anger," it is said, " of the Lord was kindled against Israel," (by their sin, surely, which is the only incentive of divine wrath,) " and he moved David against them to say, Go, number Israel and Judah."^a

So, indeed, it is that princes are bad, that they incur great errors, or commit notable trespasses, is commonly imputable to the fault of subjects ; and is a just judgment by Divine Providence laid on them, as for other provocations, so, especially for their want of devotion, and neglecting duly to pray for them. For if they constantly, with hearty sincerity and earnest fervency, would in their behalf sue to God, who " fashioneth all the hearts of men^b," who especially holdeth " the hearts of kings in his hand, and turneth them whithersoever he will^c;" we reasonably might presume that God, by his grace, would direct them into the right way, and incline their hearts to goodness ; that he would accomplish his own word in the Prophet: " I will make thy officers peace, and thine exactors righteousness^d;" that we might have occasion to pay thanksgivings like that of Ezra: " Blessed be the Lord God of our fathers, who hath put such things as this in the king's heart, to beautify the house of the Lord, which is in Jerusalem."^e

We are apt to impute the ill management of things, and the bad success waiting on it, unto princes, being in appearance the immediate agents and instruments of

^a 2 Sam. xxiv. 1.

^d Isa i. 17.

^b Psalm xxxiii. 15.

^e Ezra, vii. 27.

^c Prov. xxi. 1.

it; but we commonly do therein mistake, not considering that ourselves are most guilty and blameable for it; that it is an impious people which maketh an unhappy prince; that their offences do pervert his counsels, and blast his undertakings; that their profaneness and indevotion do incense God's displeasure, and cause him to desert princes, withdrawing his gracious conduct from them, and permitting them to be misled by temptation, by ill advice, by their own infirmities, lusts, and passions, into courses fit to punish a naughty people. So these were the causes of Moses's "speaking unadvisedly with his lips," and that "it went ill with him for their sakes^a;" of Aaron's forming the molten calf; of David's numbering the people; of Josiah's unadvised enterprise against Pharaoh Neco; of Zedekiah's rebellion against the Assyrians (notwithstanding the strong dissuasions of the prophet Jeremy), concerning which it is said, "For through the anger of the Lord it came to pass in Jerusalem and Judah, until he had cast them out from his presence, that Zedekiah rebelled against the king of Babylon."^b

Considering which things, it is apparent that prayer for our prince is a great office of charity to the public; and that, in praying for his safety, for his honour, for his wealth, for his prosperity, for his virtue, we do in effect pray for the same benefits respectively to our country: that in praying for his welfare, we do in consequence pray for the good of all our neighbours, our friends, our relations, our families; whose good is

^a Psalm cvi. 32, 33. Exod. xxxii. Deut. ix.

^b 2 Kings, xxiv. 20.

wrapped in his welfare, doth flow from it, doth hang upon it.

We are bound, and it is a very noble piece of charity, to love our country, sincerely to desire and earnestly to further its happiness, and therefore to pray for it; according to the advice and practice of the Psalmist: "Oh pray for the peace of Jerusalem; they shall prosper that love thee. Peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces."^a We are obliged, more especially, upon the highest accounts, with dearest affection to love the Church (our heavenly commonwealth, the society of our spiritual brethren), most ardently to tender its good, and seek its advantages, and therefore most urgently to sue for God's favour toward it; being ready to say, after David, "Do good, O God, in thy good pleasure, to Sion; build thou the walls of Jerusalem."^b "Arise, O Lord, and have mercy upon Sion; for the time to favour her, yea, the set time, is come."^c Now, these duties we cannot more easily, more compendiously, or more effectually discharge, than by earnestly praying for our prince; seeing that if we do, by our prayers, procure God's favour to him, we do certainly draw it on the State and the Church. If God, moved by our devout importunities, shall please to guard his person from dangers, and to "grant him a long life^d," to endue his heart with grace, with the love and fear of himself, with a zeal of furthering public good, of favouring piety, of discountenancing sin; if God shall vouchsafe to inspire him with wisdom, and to guide his coun-

^a Psalm lxxviii. 5.

^b Psalm li. 18.

^c Psalm cxxi. 4.

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^a Psalm li. 18.
^b Psalm xli. 4.

sels, to bless his proceedings, and to crown his undertakings with good success; then, assuredly, we have much promoted the public interest; then, infallibly, together with these, all other blessings shall descend upon us, all good will flourish in our land. This was the ancient practice of Christians, and directed to this end. For "We," saith Lactantius to Constantine, "your daily prayers do supplicate God, that he would first of all keep thee, whom he hath willed to be the keeper of things; then that he would inspire into thee a love whereby thou mayest ever persevere in the love of God's name; which is salutary to all, both to thee for thy happiness, and to us for our quiet."^a

4. Wherefore, consequently, our own interest in charity to ourselves should dispose us to pray for our prince. We being nearly concerned in his welfare, parts of the public, and as enjoying many private advantages thereby: we cannot but partake of his good, we cannot but suffer with him. We cannot live quietly, if our prince is disturbed; we cannot live happily, if he be unfortunate; we can hardly live virtuously, if his grace do not incline him to favour us therein, or at least restrain him from hindering us.^b This is St. Paul's consideration: "I exhort you," saith he, "to make prayers for kings, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty." Upon such

^a "Cui nos quotidianis precibus supplicamus, ut te imprimis, rerum custodem voluit esse, custodiat; deinde inspiret tibi voluntatem qua semper in amore divini nominis perseveres; quod est optimum salutare, et tibi ad felicitatem, et nobis ad quietem." *Lact. vii. 20.*

^b "Nescio an plus moribus conferat princeps, qui bonos esse populum quam qui cogit." *Plin. Panegy.*

account God did command the Jews to pray for the welfare of that heathen state under which they lived in captivity. "And seek," said he, "the peace of the city, whither I have caused you to be carried away captives, and pray unto the Lord for it: for in the peace thereof shall ye have peace."^a And for the like cause the Christians of old deemed themselves bound to pray for the Gentile magistrates; according to that of Tertullian: "We pray for you, because with you the empire is shaken; and the other members of it being shaken, assuredly even we, how far soever we may be thought from troubles, are found in some place of the fall."^b Farther,

5. Let us consider that subjects are obliged, in gratitude and ingenuity, yea, in equity and justice, to pray for their princes. For,

They are most nearly related to us, and allied by the most sacred bands; being constituted by God, in his own room, the parents and guardians of their country; being also avowed and accepted for such by solemn vows and most holy sacraments of allegiance: whence unto them, as such, we owe an humble piety, a very respectful affection, a most dutiful observance^c; the

^a Jer. xxix. 7.

^b "Vobiscum enim concutitur imperium: concussis etiam cæteris membris ejus, utique et nos, licet extranei a turbis æstimemur, in aliquo loco casus invenimur." *Tert. Apol. cap. xxxii.*

^c "Quem sciens (Christianus) a Deo suo constitui, necesse est, ut et ipsum diligat, et revereatur, et honoret, et salvum velit." *Tert. ad Scap. ii.*

"Jurat per Deum, et per Christum, et per Spiritum S. et per majestatem imperatoris, quæ secundum Deum generi humano diligenda est, et colenda." *Veget. ii. 5.*

which we cannot better express or exercise than in our heartiest prayers for their welfare.

They, by God, are destined to be the protectors of the Church, the patrons of religion, the fosterers and cherishers of truth, of virtue, of piety: for of old the Church in the evangelical times it was prophesied, "Kings shall be thy nursing fathers; thou shalt suck the breasts of kings; kings shall minister to thee: wherefore to them, not only as men and citizens, but peculiarly as Christians, we owe the highest duty, and consequently we must pay the best devotion to them.

To them we stand indebted for the greatest benefit of common life: they necessarily do take much trouble, they undergo great trouble, they are exposed to many hazards, for our advantages; that "under their shadow we may enjoy safety and quiet, we may reap the fruit of our industry, we may possess the comforts and conveniences of our life, with security from rapine, from contention, from solicitude, from the continual fear of wrong and outrage.

To their industry and vigilancy under God we owe the fair administration of justice, the protection of the innocent and innocence, the preservation of order and peace, the encouragement of goodness and correction of wickedness: for they, as the Apostle telleth us, "are the ministers, attending continually on these very things." They, indeed, so attend as to deny themselves, and forego much of their own ease, their pleasure,

^a Isa. xlix. 23. ; lx. 16. 10.

^c Rom. xiii. 6.

satisfaction; being frequently perplexed with cares, continually enslaved to business, and subject to various inconveniences, rendering their life to considerate spectators very little desirable.

As, therefore, according to our Lord's observation, they are usually styled benefactors^a, so they really are; even the worst of them (such as Claudius, or Nero, of whom our Apostles speak) in considerable measure; at least, in comparison of anarchy, and considering the mischiefs issuing from want of government. *Οὐ κολακεία ἐστὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα.* The matter is not flattery (saith St. Chrysostom^b, himself of all men farthest from a flatterer), but according to the reason of the case; we must esteem ourselves much obliged to them for the pains they sustain in our behalf, and for the benefits we receive from them. For he, indeed, must be a very bad governor to whom that speech of the orator Tertullus may not without glozing be accommodated; "Seeing that by thee we enjoy great quietness, and that very worthy deeds are done unto this nation by thy providence, we accept it always, and in all places, most noble Felix, with all thankfulness."^c

However, what Seneca saith of philosophers, that they of all men are most obliged, and most grateful to kings and magistrates, because from their care they enjoy the leisure, quiet, and security of contemplating and practising the best things; upon which account, saith he, they could not but reverence the authors of

^a Luke. xxii. 25.

so great a good as parents^a; that is, or should be, far more true of Christians. That leisure (to use his words) which is spent with God, and which rendereth us like to God^b; the liberty of studying divine truths and of serving God with security and quiet, are inestimable benefits, for the which they are indebted to the protection of magistrates: therefore in all reasonable grateful retribution of good will, and of all good offices, particularly of our prayers, is to be paid to them. "Is it not very absurd," saith St. Chrysostom^c "that they should labour and venture for us, and we not pray for them?"^c

6. Whereas we are by divine command frequently enjoined to fear and reverence, to honour, to obey kings^d; we should look on prayer for them as a principal branch, and the neglect thereof as a notable breach of those duties. For,

As to honour and reverence, it is plain that exterior signification, in ceremonious unveiling or cringing to them, can so demonstrate it as doth the wishing them well in our hearts, and from thence framing particular addresses to the Divine Majesty for their welfare. Than which practice there can be no stronger argument that we hold them in great account and consideration. And how, indeed, can we much honour them, for whom we do not vouchsafe so much as

^a "Nulli adversus magistratus ac reges gratiores sunt; nec immo nullis enim plus præstant, quam quibus frui tranquillo otio licet. Ita hi quibus ad propositum bene vivendi confert securitas publica, nec est auctorem hujus boni ut parentem colant." *Sen. Ep. 73.*

^b "Quanti æstimamus hoc otium, quod inter Deos agitur, Deos facit?" *Ibid.*

^c Πῶς οὐκ ἀποκον αὐτοὺς, &c. *Chrys. ubi supra.*

^d 1 Pet. ii. 13. 17. Rom. xiii. 1. Tit. iii. 1. Prov. xxiv. 21.

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^a Ezra, vi. 10.

^b “Nuncupare vota et pro æternitate

Not only pious princes with a serious desire will expect this duty from us, but even profane ones in policy will demand it, as a decent testimony of respect to them, and a proper means of upholding their state that they may seem to have place in the most serious regards and solemn performances of their subject. So that to neglect this duty is ever a violation of our due obedience, and a kind of disloyalty to them. Again,

7. The praying for princes is a service peculiarly honourable, and very acceptable to God, which he will interpret as a great respect done to himself: for thereby we honour his image and character in their yielding in his presence this special respect to them his representatives: for that thereby we avow the government of the world by them as his ministers and deputies; for that thereby we acknowledge all power derived from him, and depending on his pleasure; we ascribe to him an authority paramount above all earth potentates; we imply our persuasion that he alone absolute sovereign of the world, "the King of kings and Lord of lords," so that princes are nothing otherwise than in subordination to him, can do nothing without his succour, do owe to him all their power, their safety, their prosperity, and welfare^a; for that, in fine, thereby disclaiming all other confidences "in a son of man^d," we signify our entire submission to God

^a "Deo vel privatus, vel militans servit, cum fideliter eum diligit, Deo regnat autore." *Veget. ii. 5.*

^b 1 Tim. vi. 15.

^c "Temperans majestatem Cesaris infra Deum, magis illum commendando Deo." *Tert. Apol. cap. xxxiii.*

^d Psalm cxlvi. 3. ; cxviii. 8, 9.

ll, and sole confidence in his providence. This vice, therefore, is a very grateful kind of adoring our mighty Lord; and as such St. Paul recommendeth it the words immediately subjoined to our text: "For s," saith he, "is good and acceptable in the sight of d our Saviour."^a

1. Let us consider, that whereas wisdom, guiding piety and charity, will especially incline us to place devotion there where it will be most needful and ul, we therefore chiefly must pray for kings, be- e they do most need our prayers.

heir office is most high, and hard to discharge well apply; wherefore they need extraordinary supplies fts and graces from the Divine bounty.

heir affairs are of greatest weight and importance, ring answerable skill and strength to steer and them: wherefore they need from the fountain of m and power special communications of light, of ge, of ability, to conduct, to support, to fortify in their managements; they need that God should l them πνεύματι ἡγεμονικῶ, with that princely for which King David prayed.^b

y often are to deliberate about matters of dark ertain consequence; they are to judge in cases ious and intricate nature, the which to resolve tly, or to determine uprightly, no human wisdom tly can enable: wherefore they need "the spirit sel," and "the spirit of judgment^c," from the penser of them, the great "Counsellor^d" and

^a 1 Tim. ii. 3.

^b Psalm li. 12.

most "righteous Judge."^a The wisest and ablest of them hath reason to pray with Solomon, "Give thy servant an understanding heart, to judge thy people, that I may discern between good and bad; for who is able to judge this thy so great a people?"^b That so what the Wise Man saith may be verified: "A divine sentence is in the lips of the king, his mouth transgresseth not in judgment^c:" and that of the wise woman, "As an angel of God, so is my lord the king to discern good and bad."^d

They commonly are engaged in enterprises of greatest difficulty, insuperable by the might or industry of man, in regard to which we may say with Hannah^e, "By strength shall no man prevail;" with the Preacher^f, "The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong;" with the Psalmist^g, "There is no king saved by the multitude of an host:" wherefore they need aid and succour from the Almighty, to carry them through, and bless their designs with success.

They are most exposed to dangers and disasters (standing like high towers, most obnoxious to the winds and tempests of fortune); having usually many envious ill-willers, many disaffected malecontents, many both open enemies and close insidiators; from whose force or treachery no human providence can sufficiently guard them: they do therefore need the protection of the ever-vigilant "Keeper of Israel" to secure them: for, "Except the Lord keepeth the city, the watchman

^a Psalm vii. 11.^c Prov. xvi. 10.^f Eccles. ix. 11.^b 1 Kings, iii. 9. Wisd. ix. 4. Psalm lxxii. 1.^d 2 Sam. xiv. 17.^e 1 Sam. ii. 9.^g Psalm xxxiii. 16.

waketh but in vain^a;" except the Lord preserve the king, his guards, his armies surround him to no purpose.

They have the natural infirmities of other men, and far beyond other men are subject to external temptations. The malicious spirit (as in the case of Job, of David, of Ahab, of Joshua the High Priest^b, is expressed) is ever waiting for occasion, ever craving permission of God to seduce and pervert them; success therein being extremely conducive to his villanous designs. The world continually doth assault them with all its advantages, with all its baits of pleasure, with all its enticements to pride and vanity, to oppression and injustice, to sloth, to luxury, to exorbitant self-will and self-conceit, to every sort of vicious practice. Their eminency of state^c, their affluence of wealth, their uncontrollable power, their exemption from common restraints, their continual distractions and encumbrances by varieties of care and business, their multitude of obsequious followers, and scarcity of faithful friends to advise or reprove them, their having no obstacles before them to check their wills, to cross their humours, to curb their lusts and passions, are so many dangerous snares unto them: wherefore they do need plentiful measures of grace, and mighty assistances from God, to preserve them from the worst errors and sins; into which, otherwise, it is almost a miracle if they are not plunged.^d

^a Psalm xxi. 4. ; xci. 1. ; cxxvii. 1. ; xxxiii. 16.

^b Zech. iii. 1.

^c Eccles. viii. 4.

^d 'O - - - - -'

And being they are so liable to sin, they must consequently stand often in need of God's mercy to bear w them, and to pardon them.

They, therefore, upon so many accounts, need special help and grace from heaven, do most ne prayers to derive it thence for them.

All princes, indeed, do need them. Good princ need many prayers for God's help, to uphold and co firm them in their virtue: bad princes need deprec tions of God's wrath and judgments towards them, fo offending his majesty; together with supplications fo God's grace to convert and reform them: the most des perate and incorrigible need prayers, that God woul overrule and restrain them from doing mischief to them selves and others. All princes, having many avocations and temptations, hindering them to pray enough for themselves, do need supplemental aids from the devo tions of others.

Wherefore, if we love them, if we love our country, if we love ourselves, if we tender the interests of truth, of piety, of common good, we, considering their case, and manifold need of prayers, will not fail earnestly to sue for them; that God would afford needful assistance to them in the administration of their high office, in the improvement of their great talents, in the conduct and management of their arduous affairs; that he graciously would direct them in their perplexed councils, would back them in their difficult undertakings, would protect their persons from dangers, would keep their hearts from the prevalency of temptations, would pardon their failings and trespasses. Again,

9. Whereas God hath declared that he hath special gard to princes, and a more than ordinary care over em, because they have a peculiar relation to him, as representatives, the “ministers of his kingdom^a,” the main instruments of his providence, whereby he conveyeth his favours and dispenseth his justice to men; because, also, the good of mankind, which he especially tendereth, is mainly concerned in their welfare; wherefore, I say, “it is he that giveth salvation unto kings;” that “giveth great deliverance to his king, and showeth mercy to his anointed^b”; that hath “the king’s heart, and his breath, and all his ways in his hand^c :” even upon this account, our prayers for them are the more required. For it is a method of God, and an established rule of Divine Providence, not to dispense special blessings without particular conditions, and the concurrence of our duty in observance of what he prescribeth in respect to them. Seeing, then, he hath enjoined that, in order to our obtaining those great benefits which issue from his special care over princes, we should pray for them, and seek it from his hands, the omission of this duty will intercept it, or bereave us of its advantages; nor, in that case, may we expect any blessings of that kind. As, without praying for ourselves, we must not expect private favours from heaven; so, without praying for our prince, we cannot well hope for public blessings, nor, as a profane person (who, in effect, disavoweth God, or not regarding to seek his favour and aid) is not quali-

^a Wierd. vi. 4.

declared that he
more than ever
a peculiar manner
ministers of his
his providence
dispenseth his
mankind, which he
erred in their
giveth salvation
grace to his king,
that hath "the
his ways in his hand
prayers for them are
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ve us of its advantages
ect any blessings of
ourselves, we must not
ven; so, without prayer
ell hope for public
ho, in effect, disavowed
is favour and aid) is not

fied to receive any good from him ; so a profane
(which disclaimeth God's government of the world
not invoking his benediction on those who move
under him) is not well capable of common benediction
is, upon all accounts, true which Ezra said : " The
of our God is upon all them for good that seek
but his power and his wrath is against all that
forsake him."* If, therefore, we desire that our
should not lose God's special regard, if we will
forfeit the benefits thereof to ourselves, we must
aspire in hearty prayers for him.

10. To engage and encourage us in which
we may farther consider, that such prayers
duly, (with frequency and constancy, with sincere
zeal,) do always turn to good account, and produce
good effect ; the which, if it be not always easily
ible, yet it is certainly real ; if it be not perfect
may desire, yet it is competent, as expediency
or as the condition of things will bear.

There may be impediments to a full success of
best prayers ; they may not ever prevail in
princes completely good, or extremely prosperous ;
some concurrence of their own will is required to
duce their virtue, God rarely working with
power, or fatal efficacy ; and the state of
capacities of persons, are not always fitly
prosperity. Yet are not such prayers ever
or fruitless ; for God never prescribeth
available to the end : he never would

* Ezra, viii. 22. Liv. v. 51. Hor. C. i. l.

manded us particularly to pray for kings, if he did not mean to bestow a good issue to that practice.

And, surely, he that hath promised to hear all requests, with faith and sincerity and incessant earnestness presented to him, cannot fail to hear those which are of such consequence, which are so agreeable to his will, which do include so much honesty and charity. In this case, surely, we may have some confidence, according to that of St. John: "This is the confidence we have in him, that, if we ask any thing according to his will, he heareth us."^a

As the good bishop, observing St. Austin's mother, with what constancy and passionateness she did pray for her son, being then engaged in ways of error and vanity, did encourage her, saying, "It is impossible that a son of those devotions should perish^b;" so may we hopefully presume, and encourage ourselves, that a prince will not miscarry, for whose welfare many good people do earnestly solicit: *Fieri non potest, ut princeps istarum lacrymarum pereat.*

You know, in general, the mighty efficacy of prayer^c; what pregnant assurances there are, and how wonderful instances thereof occur in Holy Scripture, both in relation to public and private blessings: how it is often promised^d, that "all things, whatsoever we shall ask in prayer believing, we shall receive;" and that "whoever asketh receiveth, and he that seeketh findeth, and to him that knocketh it shall be

^a 1 John, v. 14.

opened:" how the prayer of Abraham^a did heal Abimelech and his family of barrenness; how the prayers of Moses^b did quench the fire, and cure the bitings of the fiery serpents; how the prayer of Joshua^c did arrest the sun; how the prayer of Hannah^d did procure Samuel to her, as his name doth import; how Elias's prayers^e did open and shut the heavens; how the same holy prophet's prayer^f did reduce a departed soul, and that of Elisha^g did effect the same, and that of another prophet^h did restore Jeroboam's withered hand; how the prayers of God's people frequently did "raise them up saviours," and "when they cried unto the Lord in their trouble, he delivered them out of their distressesⁱ:" how the prayers of Asa^k discomfited a million of Arabians, and those of Jehoshaphat^l destroyed a numerous army of his enemies by their own hands, and those of Hezekiah^m brought down an angel from heaven to cut off the Assyrians, and those of Manassesⁿ restored him to his kingdom, and those of Esther^o saved her people from the brink of ruin, and those of Nehemiah^p inclined a Pagan king's heart to favour his pious design for re-edifying Jerusalem, and those of Daniel^q obtained strange visions and dis-

^a Gen. xx. 17. ^b Num. xi. 2.; xxi. 7. Psalm cvi. 30. O. T.

^c Josh. x. 12. ^d 1 Sam. i. 10. ^e Luke, iv. 25. James, v. 17, 18.

^f 1 Kings, xvii. 21, 22. ^g 2 Kings, iv. 33. ^h 1 Kings, xiii. 6.

ⁱ Deut. iv. 29. Neh. ix. 27. Psalm cvi. 44.; cvii. 6. 13. 19. 28. Jud. iii. 15.; iv. 3.; vi. 7.; x. 21.

^k 2 Chron. xiv. 11.

^l 2 Chron. xx. 3. 12. 23.

^m 2 Chron. xxxii. 20, 21.

ⁿ 2 Chron. xxxiii. 12, 13.

^o Esth. iv. 16.

^p Neh. i. 11.; ii. 4.

^q Dan. chap. ii. iv. v. vii. viii. ix. x. xi. xii.

coveries. How Noah^a, Job, Daniel, Moses, and Samuel are represented as powerful intercessors with God; and consequently it is intimated, that the great things achieved by them were chiefly done by the force of their prayers.

And seeing prayers in so many cases are so effectual, and work such miracles; what may we hope from them in this, wherein God so expressly and particularly directeth us to use them? If our prayers can so much avail to our personal and private advantage, if they may be very helpful to our friends; how much shall the devotions of many good men, all levelled at one mark, and aiming at a public most considerable good, be prevalent with the Divine Goodness? However, if God be not moved by prayers to convert a prince from all sin, to make him do all the good he might, to bless him in all matters; yet he may thence be induced to restrain him from much evil, to keep him from being worse, or from doing worse, than otherwise would be; he may dispose him to do many things well, or better than of himself he would do; he may preserve him from many disasters otherwise incident to him; which will be considerable effects of prayer.

11. I shall add but one general consideration more, which is this, that prayer is the only allowable way of redressing our case, if we do suffer by or for princes.

Are they bad, or do they misdemean themselves in their administration of government and justice? we may not by any violent or rough way attempt to reclaim

our correction. “Where the word of a king is, there is power: and who shall say to him, What doest thou?” was the Preacher’s doctrine.^a

Do they oppress us, or abuse us? do they treat us harshly, or cruelly persecute us? we must not kick against them, nor strive to right ourselves by resistance. For “against a king,” saith the Wise Man^b, “there is no rising up:” and “who,” said David^c, “can stretch out his hand against the Lord’s anointed, and be guiltless?” and, “They,” saith St. Paul^d, “that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation.”

We must not so much as ease our stomach or discharge our passion by railing or inveighing against them. For, “Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people^e,” is a divine law; and to “blaspheme” or revile “dignities,” is by St. Peter^f and St. Jude^g reprehended as a notable crime.

We must not be bold or free in taxing their actions. For, “Is it fit,” said Elihu^h, “to say to a king, Thou art wicked; and to princes, Ye are ungodly;” and “to reproach the footsteps of God’s anointed,” is implied to be an impious practice.ⁱ

We must forbear even complaining and murmuring against them. For murmurers are condemned as no mean sort of offenders^k; and the Jews in the wilderness were sorely punished for such behaviour.

We must not (according to the Preacher’s advice) so

^a Eccles. viii. 4.

^d Rom. xiii. 2.

^f 2 Pet. ii. 10.

ⁱ Psalm lxxxix. 51.

^b Prov. xxx. 31.

^c Exod. xxii. 28.

^g Jude, 8.

^k Jude, 16.

^e 1 Sam. xxvi. 9.

Acts, xxiii. 5.

^h Job, xxxiv. 18.

THE ACCESSION. [DR. BARROW.

h as "curse them in our thoughts;" or not enter-
ill conceits and ill wishes in our minds toward
n.

'o do these things is not only high presumption in
rd to them (inconsistent with the dutiful affection
respect which we owe to them), but it is flat im-
y toward God, and an invasion of his authority;
alone is King of kings, and hath reserved to him-
the prerogative of judging, of rebuking, of punish-
of kings, when he findeth cause.

hese were the misdemeanours of those in the late
s, who, instead of praying for their sovereign, did
our and rail at him, did asperse him with foul im-
tions, did accuse his proceedings, did raise tumults,
levy war against him, pretending by rude force to
ce him to his duty; so usurping on their prince,
ather on God himself; assuming his right, and
ng his work out of his hands; discovering also
in great profaneness of mind and distrust of God's
ilence; as if God, being implored by prayer,
l not, or would not, had been needful
irregular courses, had pressed those
ch or State, which he had left to fee
thing, therefore, in all things left to us
ly or ease, but having in God a
eking relief from him, and good tim
rting our prince, or into a
however, comforting
God's will.^b

This is the only method St. Paul did prescribe, even when Nero, a most vile, flagitious man, a sorry and naughty governor as could he, a monstrous tyrant, and most bloody persecutor (the very inventor of persecution), did sway the empire.^a He did not advise Christians to stand upon their guard, to contrive plots, to provide arms, to raise mutinies and insurrections against him; but to offer supplications, prayers, and intercessions for him, as the best means of their security and comfort.^b And this was the course of the primitive Christians during their hard condition under the domination of heathen princes, impugnors of their religion: prayers and tears were then the only arms of the Church; whereby they long defended it from ruin, and at last advanced it to most glorious prosperity.^c

Indeed, if, not assuming the liberty to find fault with princes, we would practice the duty of seeking God for his blessing on their proceedings; if, forbearing to scan and censure acts of state, we would earnestly implore God's direction of them; if, leaving to conceive disgusts, and vent complaints about the state of things, we would assiduously petition God for

ultionem a nobis aliquam machinemur, quam a Deo expectamus." *Tert. ad Scap. 2.*

^a "Qui non dicam regum, sed omnium hominum, et vel bestiarum sordidissimus, dignus exstitit qui persecutionem in Christianos primus inciperet." *Sulp. Serv. ii. 40.*

^b "Ita nos magis oramus pro salute imperatoris, ab eo eam postulantes qui præstare potest. Et utique ex disciplina patientiæ divini agere nos, satis manifestum esse vobis potest, cum tanta hominum multitudo, pars pene major civitatis cujusque, in silentio et modestia agimus." *Tert. ad Scap. 2.*

^c "Fundendo sanguinem, et patiendo magis quam faciendo contumelias, Christi fundata est ecclesia; persecutionibus crevit," &c. *Hier. Ep. 62.*

the settlement of them in good order; if, instead of being shrewd politicians or smart judges in such matters, we would be devout orators and humble solicitors at the throne of grace; our endeavours surely would find much better effect toward public advantage: we certainly might do more good in our closets by a few hearty wishes uttered there, than by all our tattling or jangling politics in corners.

There are great contrivances to settle things: every one hath his model of state, or method of policy, to communicate for ordering the state; each is zealous for his own conceit, and apt to be displeased with those who dissent from him: but it is, as the fairest and justest, so the surest and likeliest way of reducing things to a firm composure, (without more ado, letting the world alone, to move on its own hinges, and not impertinently troubling ourselves or others with the conduct of it,) simply to request of Almighty God, the sovereign governor and sole disposer of things, that he would lead his own vicegerents in the management of the charge by himself committed to them: "Be careful for nothing; but in every thing by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving let your requests be made known to God^a," is a rule very applicable to this case.

As God's providence is the only sure ground of our confidence or hope for the preservation of Church and State, or for the restitution of things into a stable quiet; so it is only our hearty prayers joined with a

incline Providence to favour us. By them alone we may hope to save things from sinking into disorder, we may assuage the factions, we may defeat the machinations against the public welfare.

12. Seeing, then, we have so many good arguments and motives inducing us to pray for kings, it is no wonder that, to back them, we may also alledge the practice of the Church^a, continually in all times performing this duty in its most sacred offices, especially in the celebration of the holy communion.

St. Paul, indeed, when he saith, "I exhort, first all, that prayers be made^b," doth chiefly impose this duty on Timothy, or supposeth it incumbent on the pastors of the Church to take special care that prayer be made for this purpose, and offered up in the Church jointly by all Christians: and accordingly the ancient Christians, as Tertullian doth assure us, did "always pray for the emperors, that God would grant them long life, a secure reign, a safe family, valiant armies, a faithful senate, a loyal people, a quiet world, and whatever they, as men or as emperors, could wish."^c "Thus," addeth he, "even for their persecutors, and in the very pangs of their sufferings, they did not fail to practise." Likewise of the Church, in his time, St. Chrysostom telleth us, that "all communicants did know how every day, both at even and morning, they

^a Const. Apost. viii. 19. ; ii. 57.

^b 1 Tim. ii. 8. Polycarp. ad Phil. c. 12.

^c "Precantes sumus semper pro omnibus imperatoribus vitam illis prolixam, imperium securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem quietum, quæcunque hominis et Cæsaris vota sunt." *Tert. Apol. cap. 30.*

"Hoc agite, boni præsules, extorquete animam Deo supplicantem pro imperatore." *Ibid.*

did make supplication for all the world, and for the emperor, and for all that are in authority.”^a

And in the Greek liturgies (the composure whereof is fathered on St. Chrysostom) there are divers prayers interspersed for the emperors, couched in terms very pregnant and respectful.

If the offices of the Roman Church, and of the churches truckling under it, in later times, shall seem more defective or sparing in this point of service, the reason may be, for that a superlative regard to the solar or pontifical authority (as Pope Innocent III. distinguished) did obscure their devotion for the lunar or regal majesty. But our Church hath been abundantly careful that we should in most ample manner discharge this duty, having in each of her holy offices directed us to pray for our king in expressions most full, hearty, and lively.

She hath, indeed, been charged as somewhat lavish or over liberal of her devotions in this case. But it is a good fault, and we little need fear over-doing in observance of a precept so very reasonable and so important, supposing that we have a due care to join our heart with the Church's words, and to the frequency of prayers for our prince do confer a suitable fervency. If we be not dead, or merely formal, we can hardly be too copious in this kind of devotion; reiteration of words can do no harm, being accompanied with the renovation of our desires. Our text itself will bear us

^a Καὶ τοῦτο ἴσασιν οἱ μύσται, πῶς καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν γίνεται καὶ ἐν ἑσπέρᾳ καὶ ἐν πρωΐᾳ· πῶς ὑπὲρ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ βασιλέων, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ ὄντων, ποιούμεθα τὴν δέησιν. Chrys. in 1 Tim. ii. 1.

out in such a practice, the Apostle therein, of expression, appearing solicitous that ab prayers for kings should be offered in the C no sort of them omitted.

There are so many general inducements t at all times, and there are, beside, divers reasons enforcing it now, in the present sta ture of things.

Times of trouble, of danger, of fear, of d perplexity, of distraction and distress, of g served wrath, are most seasonable for rec Divine help and mercy in prayer.*

And are not ours such? are they not i those of which the Psalmist saith^b, "The neither will they understand; they walk on all the foundations of the earth are out. Or like those of which our Lord spake^c was "upon the earth distress of nation plexity; men's hearts failing them for : looking after those things which were c earth?"

Are not the days gloomy^d, so that no l dence can see far, no wisdom can descr things?

Is it not a very unsettled world^e, w public frames are shaken almost off the h minds of men extremely discomposed wit

^a Psalm cxlv. 18. ; xviii. 6. ; lxxvii. 2. ; lxxxvi. 7. ; cvii. 6. ; James, v. 13. ; 2 Chron. vi. 36.

"Inops senatus auxilii humani ad deos populus Lib. iii. 7. ; v. 16.

^b Psalm lxxxii. 5.

^c Luke, xxi. 25, 26.

^e Psalm cvii. 27.

sions; with fear, suspicion, anger, discontent, and impatience? How from dissensions in opinion do violent factions and feuds rage; the hearts of men boiling with fierce animosities, and being exasperated against one another, beyond any hopes or visible means of reconciliation!

Are not the fences of discipline cast down? Is there any conscience made of violating laws? Is not the dread of authority exceedingly abated, and all government overborne by unbridled licentiousness?

How many adversaries are there, "bearing ill will to our Sion!"^a How many turbulent, malicious, crafty spirits, eagerly bent, and watching for occasion to subvert the Church, to disturb the State, to introduce confusion in all things! How many Edomites, who say of Jerusalem (both ecclesiastical and civil), "Down with it, down with it, even to the ground!"^b

Have we not great reason to be fearful of God's just displeasure, and that heavy judgments will be poured on us for our manifold heinous provocations and crying sins; for the prodigious growth of atheism, infidelity, and profaneness; for the rife practice of all impieties, iniquities, and impurities, with most impudent boldness, or, rather, with outrageous insolence; for the extreme dissoluteness in manners; the gross neglect or contempt of all duties; the great stupidity and coldness of people generally as to all concerns of religion; for the want of religious awe toward God, of charity toward our neigh-

and incorrigibleness under many sore chastise
insensibleness of many plain warnings, loudly
to repentance?

Is not all the world about us in combu
wars raging every where, and Christendom v
blood? And although at present, by God's
are free, who knows but that soon, by G
the neighbouring flames may catch our house

In fine: is not our case palpably such, t
good composure or reinstatement of thir
order, for upholding truth and sound doct
ducing charity and peace, for reviving t
piety, and bringing virtue again into requ
serving State and Church from ruin; we
confidence or reasonable hope, but in the
dence and merciful succour of Almighty G
whom there is no Saviour;" who alone is
Israel, and Saviour thereof in time of tr
now having great cause to pray with ou
ciples in the storm, "Lord, save us; we p

Upon such considerations, and other
suppose you are sufficiently apprehens
especially are obliged earnestly to pray
that God in mercy would preserve his
and inspire his mind with light, and en
with grace, and in all things bless him t
repairer of our breaches, and a restore
dwell in^c;" so that "under him we ma
life in all godliness and honesty."

^a Isa. xiii. 11. Hos. xiii. 4. Jer. xiv. 8
^b Matt. viii. 25. ^c Isa. l.

I have done with the first duty (prayer for kings), upon which I have the rather so largely insisted, because it is very reasonable to our present condition.

II. The other (thanksgiving) I shall but touch, and need not perhaps to do more. For,

1. As to general inducements, they are the same, or very like to those which are for prayer; it being plain, that whatever we are concerned to pray for, when we want it, that we are bound to thank God for, when he vouchsafeth to bestow it. And if common charity should dispose us to resent the good of princes with complacency: if their welfare be a public benefit; if ourselves are interested in it, and partake great advantages thereby: if in equity and ingenuity we are bound to seek it: then, surely, we are much engaged to thank God the beautiful donor of it, for his goodness in conferring it.

2. As for particular motives, suiting the present occasion, I need not by information or impression of them farther to stretch your patience: seeing you cannot be ignorant or insensible of the grand benefits by the divine goodness bestowed on our king and on ourselves, which this day we are bound with all grateful acknowledgment to commemorate. Wherefore, instead of reciting trite stories, and urging obvious reasons (which a small recollection will suggest to you), I shall only request you to join with me in the practice of the duty, and in acclamation of praise to God. Even so—

Blessed be God^a, who hath given to us so gracious
benign a prince (the experiments of whose clemency

and goodness no history can parallel) to sit on, throne of his blessed father and renowned ancestors.

Blessed be God^a, who hath protected him in so many encounters, hath saved him from so many dangers and snares, hath delivered him from so great troubles.

Blessed be God, who in so wonderful a manner, by such miraculous trains of providence, did reduce him to his country, and reinstate him in the possession of his rights; thereby vindicating his own just providence, "declaring his salvation, and openly showing his righteousness in the sight of all people."^b

Blessed be God, who, in him and with him, did restore to us our ancient good constitution of government, our laws and liberties, our peace and quietness, rescuing us from lawless usurpations and tyrannical yokes, from the insultings of error and iniquity, from horrible distractions and confusions.

Ever blessed be God, who hath "turned the captivity of Sion^c;" hath raised our Church from the dust and re-established the sound doctrine, the decent order, the wholesome discipline thereof; hath restored true religion, with its supports, advantages, and encouragements.

Blessed be the Lord, who hath granted us to continue these sixteen years in the peaceable fruition of those blessings.

"Praised be God, who hath not cast out our prayer, nor turned his mercy from us."^e

Praised be God, who "hath turned our heaviness

^a Psalm xviii. 46. ; lxxxix. 22, 23.

^c Psalm cxxvi. 1.

^d Isa. xxx. 20.

^b Psalm xcviii. 2.

^e Psalm lxvi. 20.

into joy, hath put off our sackcloth, and girded us with gladness.”^a

“Let our mouth speak the praise of the Lord; and let all flesh bless his holy name for ever and ever.”^b

“The Lord liveth, and blessed be our Rock; and let the God of our salvation be exalted.”^c

“Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, who only doeth wondrous things; and blessed be his glorious name for ever; and let the whole earth be filled with his glory. Amen, and amen.”^d

“Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, from everlasting to everlasting: and let all the people say, Amen. Praise ye the Lord.”^e

^a Psalm xxx. 11.

^b Psalm cxlv. 21.

^c Psalm xviii. 46.

^d Psalm lxxii. 18, 19.

^e Psalm cvi. 48.; xli. 13.; lxxxix. 52.; lxviii. 34. 1 Chron. xvi. 8—36.

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